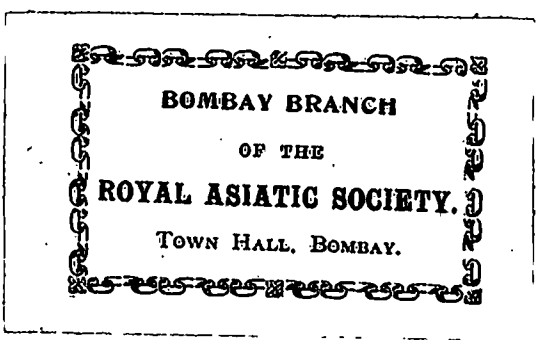
00023683

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016


00023683

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

OF

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

23683 a c

BY

LIEUT.-GEN. THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF "ANNALS OF THE WARS."

"For to read History only for contemplation is a vain and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit; but to imitate the virtue of those praised men in it, is the true and publick learning."—*Icon Animorum.*

X X a 80

PART I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1865.

TO

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

These Biographies,

COMPILED

FOR NAVAL AND MILITARY INFORMATION,

ARE,

BY HER MAJESTY'S CONDESCENDING PERMISSION,

WITH THE DEEPEST DEVOTION AND MOST

RESPECTFUL ATTACHMENT,

VERY GRATEFULLY DEDICATED BY

The Author,

HER MAJESTY'S MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES.

"THEN, THEN, YE LAURELLED WARRIORS,

OUR FEAST AND SONG SHALL FLOW,

TO THE FAME

OF YOUR NAME,

WHEN THE STORM HAS CEASED TO BLOW,

WHEN THE FIERY FIGHT IS HEARD NO MORE, AND THE STORM

HAS CEASED TO BLOW."

CAMPBELL.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Preface vii

PART I.

Introduction—Revolt of the Netherlands 1

1567—1625. Maurice of Orange-Nassau, a Netherlandish General 19

1569—1633. Ambrosio, Marquis de Spinola, a Spanish General 53

1585—1626. Ernest, Count Mansfeld, a German General . 67

1559—1632. John Tzerclaes, Count von Tilly, an Imperialist General 79

1594—1632. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden . . 111

1594—1632. Godfrey Henry, Count von Pappenheim, an Imperialist General 223

1583—1634. Albrecht von Waldstein, Walstein, or Wallenstein, an Imperial General, Duke of Friedland, Sagan, Glogau, and Mecklenburg 239

PART II.

1604—1638. Bernhard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, a German General 307

1596—1641. Johann Gustaf von Baner, or Banier, a Swedish General 343

1589—1647. Matthias von Gallas, an Imperialist General . 375

1603—1651. Leonard Torstenson, a Swedish General . . 391

1594—1652. Johann de Werth, or Von Weerth, an Imperial General 445

1592—1657. Gustavus Horn, a Swedish Field-Marshal . . 461

1599—1656. Octavio Piccolomini, an Imperial General . 489

1613—1676. Karl Gustaf Wrangel, a Swedish General and Admiral 503

1608—1681. Raymond de Montecuculi, Montecucculi, or Montecuccoli, an Imperialist General 523

APPENDIX.

PAGE

1581—1641. John George Arnheim, a Saxon General . . 539
— 1634. John Aldringer, or Altringher, a Field-Marshal and Count of the Empire 550
1622—1660. The Palsgrave (Charles X.), a Swedish General . 552
1608—1657. King of Hungary (Ferdinand III.), Imperialist General 558
1599—1645. Field-Marshal Count von Goetz, an Imperial General 559
1602—1643. Comte de Guebriant, a French Marshal . . . 563
1593—1658. Count Melchior von Hatzfeld, Imperialist General 567
1582—1635-6. Dodon de Kniphausen, a Swedish General . 568
1600—1663. John Christopher Count de Kœnigsmark, a Swedish General 572
1614—1662. The Archduke Leopold William, Imperial Commander 575
— 1645. Franz von Mercy, a Bavarian General . . 579

1600—1650. List of Battles 585

1607—1648. Consequences of the Revolt of the Netherlands, and of the Thirty Years' War 587

ERRATA.

P. 27, *for* cowering *read* towering.
— 32, *for* him *read* the Archduke, *for* he *read* the Imperial General.
— 45, *for* Tillary *read* Tilbury.
— 66. 68. 78. 114. 222, *for* Kriegs-Kunst-Lexikon *read* Militair-Conversations-Lexikon.
— 122, *for* Danamond *read* Dunamond.
— 123, *for* Charrasse *read* Charnace.
— 184, *for* 100,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry *read* 40,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry.
— 193, *for* the Queen *read* the Electress.

PREFACE.

It has long been my settled persuasion, that at a period when active duty cannot be experienced by the war-professions, the injunction of our great Duke to young officers, "that they should go and see service in the field," is best obeyed by a study of the past; and that the histories of wars and warriors are the best and only available substitute for active military service in the field. But unhappily wars and warriors are as old as seas and mountains, and it becomes somewhat difficult to determine within what limits of the world's history we are to confine our study of strategy and tactics. In the earlier stages of strife, before science of any kind could have been engrafted upon it, bodily prowess must have been of course the one thing needful; but we see from our every-day's experience of savage war, how early barbarian cunning and subtlety leads up to military skill, so that war in its fundamental principles is of very remote antiquity.

Yet, nevertheless, no art was ever devised that has showed so many phases for our study, so that it has been somewhat the fashion of late years to recur even to the prowess of such ancient conquerors as Belisarius, Hannibal, and Cæsar: yet (under favour of high Imperial authority) I venture to assert that there is very little instruction to be gathered from, what may be termed, the archæology of soldiering. We must descend to the more similar experience of later times if we would be practical, nor can we even be stopped by the gay banners and pennons of mailed knights and barons with their jovial bands of retainers and their brave and dashing enterprise, if we would obtain examples of what may be rendered useful in modern warfare.

There are, however, many things in books that officers ought to know, and which they would gladly know, and which they only do not know because few have given themselves the trouble to cater for their information. I say this specially in regard to our own country, in the literature of which the military element is very sparse, and is neither encouraged nor rewarded. The soldier-class more than any other requires to be taught, because they are precluded from the opportunity of searching out things for themselves; nor have they the leisure nor the quiet necessary to make voluminous researches by any exertions of their own. Every other class—the country gentleman, the parson, the lawyer, nay even the sailor—can collect libraries and read books at their leisure in com-

fortable *sedilias* with all the facilities of annotation and comparison; but the soldier has neither the means of carrying libraries about with him, nor does he possess convenient arrangements for study of any kind. His pocket must hold his circulating library, and the bare ground must be his reading-desk, or he must literally "read as he runs," if he desires to read at all[1]. Beyond the unattractive barrack-room he can command no retirement in which to consult books of reference, if he can get them, or in which he might digest deeply-reasoned intelligence. Above all other professions he requires to be mentally fed by popular instruction, or what may be termed compressed knowledge—articles in reviews or pamphlets, books in short sections or chapters, which admit of easy breaks and resting-places, should the bugle or the drum disturb the current of his study, and summon him from his books to his duties.

It is a desire to meet this characteristic of the military service that has converted me in the decline of life into an Author. Like my "Annals of the Wars," the "Lives of the Warriors" is intended to place before the soldier the great theatre of the wars of the past, which presents a busy and a brilliant stage on which actors of great name and celebrity (veritable "stars") have "fretted their hour." I desire also to introduce him into the green-room, where we may

[1] For this cause I have arranged that several volumes of this publication should be divided into two parts, and bound up, each completely separate in a limp binding, as a soldier's copy.

hear somewhat of their "sayings and doings." These biographies are not intended to note the mere existence of warriors of ancient times, with the dates of their births, marriages, and deaths, but, somewhat after the manner of Plutarch, I would collect together every incident on record that may illustrate the character and the services of each, while their careers are intertwined with the Annals of the Wars in which they bore a conspicuous part. We shall see that the reputation obtained is often very superior to the actions performed, and that many were not altogether the demigods they have been thought to be, according to the old proverb of the hero and his valet de chambre. When the puppet has doffed his stage robes, he often becomes an idol of brass and clay of very small dimensions. I think we shall also find, that in the early portion of the seventeenth century the pretensions of the French to have been the great teachers of modern warfare are not quite made out; that it was the nations of the hardy North, who by their extraordinary powers of personal endurance, energy, and activity, supplanted the pompous and cumbersome tactics of the Spaniard, who up to the close of the previous century had been regarded as the Warrior of Europe; that Maurice of Nassau, Spinola, Mansfeld, Gustavus Adolphus, and Torstenson first introduced regular discipline, order, and simplicity into the movements of armies, and first set fatigue and climate at nought. Doubtless in the later portion

of the same century the French improved the sciences of fortification, artillery, and strategy; but perhaps the greater amendments in arms and dress were as much the work of one nation as of another.

Nearly one-third of the biographies here recorded are not to be found in any English Biographical Dictionary or Encyclopædia. Some are not even introduced in that most valuable and wonderful repertory, La Biographie Universelle; and one or two have even escaped the industrial research of the Militair-Conversations-Lexikon. But all Swedish histories record with a just pride the prowess of their arms in the Thirty Years' War, and dwell upon the great deeds of their warriors with very pardonable admiration. The names of Baner, Horn, Wrangel, and Kniphausen, are probably quite unknown to even a double-first at our Universities, but deserve nevertheless to be introduced to every military student; and the school of Gustavus Adolphus is more deserving of study at our Staff College than that of any warrior-class that has preceded or followed it.

I have been somewhat severely criticized for what has been regarded as carelessness in my former history in the correct orthography of names and places. At the same time that I do not admit the charge, I think I am entitled to plead that a work dealing so extensively in geographical and personal details has a just claim to much indulgence and great mercy. Brother-authors *must* know how difficult, if not impossible, it

is to avoid errors of the kind, from a slip of the pen, from oversight, and from the post-dated blunders of the printer. I have been always exceedingly desirous to obtain correctness in this matter, and have employed men of ability in that particular department as editors for the very purpose. But it is not very easy to determine the correct spelling of the names of towns that are very often different even in different maps of the same language. The right spelling, moreover, very often depends on this—whether you consult English, French, or German Gazetteers. I charge the French with being the great sinners in the orthography of names, and with having been the tempters that have led us wrong for so many years; and it is now almost vain ever to hope to get right. For any individual writer to attempt to make a complete reform would expose him to a severer criticism and charge of pedantry; and every one may remember a modern edition of the Arabian Nights, wherein those friends of our youth are introduced in correct oriental costume, very greatly to the confusion of the European reader. What now are we to write in the battle-fields of Europe? Wien or Vienna, Firenze or Florence, Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle, S'Graven Hage or the Hague, Herzogenbusch or Bois-le-Duc or Bolduc, and so on *ad infinitum?* In reply to my critics I may perhaps be permitted to add, what I should not have done from any desire of vain boasting, that I happen to have made the acquaintance of a German gentleman who is exceedingly well read

in military history, and whose home is amid the battle-fields on the banks of the Danube, who told me that he had read many of my volumes, and he had the kindness to volunteer the remark that I was one of the very few foreigners, English or French, who had taken some trouble to spell the names of places and persons of his country with perfect correctness; and on my adding that it would be doing me a great service if he would kindly point out to me any casual errors, as I was exceedingly desirous to merit such a commendation, he replied, "I cannot recall a single name spelt wrong."

There has been indeed a great deal more research requisite than might have been anticipated to bring the history of the Thirty Years' War before the English reader. I am not aware of any ample biographies of the renowned Captains included in this volume that exist either in the English or French language. Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus, Mitchell's Life of Wallenstein, and De Peyster's Life of Torstenson, are all that have been open to me in our own language, beyond the very cursory notices of the war in Russell and Coxe's histories; for Schiller, although he has been admirably translated, is proverbially meagre in all military details. The history of France has not, as far as I know, done more for the great Swedish heroes of the period than name them in so far merely as they are connected with French events. Sporschil's and Becher's histories of the Thirty Years' War, and Menzel's history of Germany, take up the

German side of the question, and Lundblad's "Swedish Plutarch," and Puffendorf's "Schwedisch Kriegsgeschichte," with the ordinary histories of Sweden, adopt the opposite side. The "Theatrum Europæum, 1662," affords the best details of the battles, and there are several works in Dutch which relate to the wars of the Netherlands. Many of these volumes being in languages not universally understood, are inaccessible to the ordinary English reader. Under these circumstances there is ample room and verge enough for any military writer to follow in the same track by which I have travelled; and there is an imposing grandeur in the history of the Thirty Years' War which would be a rich field for such men as Motley and Froude to illustrate with their researches. I sincerely wish these most interesting historians, who just stop on the threshold of the great politics of the seventeenth century, may be tempted to overstep their present boundaries, and thus make up the deficiency which I have so unworthily attempted in the mean while to occupy.

Leasowe Castle,
March, 1865.

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

PART I.

CONTENTS

OF

PART I.

MAURICE OF NASSAU . NETHERLANDISH GENERAL.

MARQUIS DE SPINOLA . . . . SPANISH GENERAL.

COUNT MANSFELD . . . . . GERMAN GENERAL.

TZERCLAES, COUNT VON TILLY . . . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS . . . . KING OF SWEDEN.

GODFREY VON PAPPENHEIM . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

ALBRECHT VON WALDSTEIN . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

WARRIORS

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

Revolt of the Netherlands.

SOMEWHAT precedent in point of time to the opening of the century and the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War must be named the Revolt of the Netherlands; for the spirit that produced both outbreaks was identical, and the events that grew out of them have rendered the Seventeenth Century one of the brightest epochs of the world's history in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

It is necessary to bear in mind that, from the days of the Romans, the Batavians and Belgians, although both were men of the Netherlands, were a different people. The latter, who came to be called Flemish, were much more advanced in civilization than the former, who are distinguished as Dutch. These last were at this early period the least heroic population in Europe—a peaceful tribe of fishermen and shepherds; they occupied an obscure corner of the world, which with incredible industry, resolution, and perseverance, they had reclaimed from the ocean. Though little noticed by the rest of Europe, and removed from its dissensions, they had, notwithstanding their obscu-

rity, advanced to the condition of a prosperous trading community, and revelled in the ease and luxuries that attend thriving industry: but as long as they were left in the full enjoyment of this humble happiness they appeared neither ambitious, nor even capable, of giving trouble to those who governed them. They formed part of the vast dominions of Charles V., whose paternal spirit was very much limited to the task of keeping his subjects free from heresy, or, in other words, he very amiably desired to place a padlock upon the minds of his people, and in the plenitude of Imperial power to think for them, in order to spare them the trouble of saving their own souls by an implicit following of his autocratic injunctions. But these simple merchantmen were just in this very particular accessible to insult and offence; they had already far outstripped the narrow-minded monarch in the views of spiritual truth, the gladdening dawn of which had lately broken over Europe, and had penetrated with its enlightening beams even to this almost forgotten corner of the Emperor's dominions. A spirit of independence is wont to accompany commercial enterprise; and a people of but few wants were irritated at being interfered with in the possession of that which "did not enrich him, but made them poor indeed." They dared to jeopardize their prosperity and abundance, in defence of the faith of their hearts, and did not conceal their desire to burst the ignominious chain of Church opinions which it was the Sovereign's pleasure to impose upon them, and which they already regarded as antiquated and unsound. These hardy men resolved to think on such transcendently important matters for themselves; and when they found the iron rod of despotism threatening to curb their aspirations, and to intrude itself into their homes, they were driven to form secret societies amongst themselves, in which they might pursue their free thoughts, and protect their families from the interference of the priesthood. Many French Calvinists

had at this time found their way into the villages of Holland, introducing a bold scepticism on old Church dogmas, that suited these rising aspirations; and Anabaptists and Memnonites out of Switzerland also spread new, and as yet strange, doctrines of self-government, which opened fresh veins of thought, that were received with avidity by the people. The complaint had in a marvellously short time become an ulcerous sore in the State, and required prudence and a lenient treatment, just when their king, Philip II., who was a practitioner of a rougher order, ascended the throne of Spain, and sent the Hollanders a governor whose very first steps maddened them, and caused an eruption of discontent and rebellion that transformed a harmless, moral, commercial tribe into a race of heroes and demigods in the march of freedom.

It was the special commission of the Duke of Alva to exterminate heresy by any and every means, and forthwith torrents of blood, noble as well as simple, flowed under the bitterness of his persecution. The character of the King was already known before the arrival of this governor in 1566, who had indeed been preceded by other governors of the same stamp; and the people had been also visited by the dreadful Spanish Inquisition in the days of Charles V., as far back as 1522, and by the ministry of Cardinal Granvella. Accordingly, the most spirited of the nobles of the land had already taken the lead in asserting the independence of the Netherlands by an open association and remonstrance. Among them was found the celebrated name of William, the first Prince of Orange, with the Counts Egmont and Hoorn, names of sufficient notoriety, whose history will readily be recalled to mind; but nevertheless a short biographical notice of these eminent martyrs may be interesting, as the lives of the warriors of this period are intimately connected with the history of the preceding century.

William of Orange.

William, the first Prince of Orange, surnamed "the

Silent," was descended from the princely German house of Nassau, which had in former times given an Emperor to Germany, and had for eight centuries disputed the pre-eminence with Austria. His father, the sovereign Count of Nassau, had married a Countess Stolberg, and had embraced the Protestant religion, so that the son, born in 1533, had been educated in it. Yet William was sent quite young to the Imperial court, where he won the personal attachment of the Emperor Charles V., who honoured him with a confidence very far beyond his years, for he is said to have placed him very near his person, and even permitted him to remain in the closet royal when the sovereign gave audience to foreign ambassadors. Indeed the Emperor, with unwonted candour, had made the open confession, that the young man had often made suggestions which would have escaped his own sagacity. The Prince of Orange was only twenty-three years of age when Charles abdicated the government; but so largely had the Imperial favour continued to be extended to him to the last, that he was entrusted with the honourable charge of conveying to Ferdinand the Imperial crown, and was nominated by the retiring sovereign to the command in chief of the Imperial army in the Netherlands.

This is the character that Schiller gives of this highly favoured tyro, thus prematurely placed in a post of responsibility:—"William of Orange was one of those lean and pale men, who according to Cæsar 'sleep not at nights, and think too much,' and before whom many spirits quail. The calm tranquillity of a never-varying countenance concealed a busy, ardent soul, which never ruffled even the veil behind which it worked; and was alike inaccessible to artifice and to love: a versatile, formidable, indefatigable mind, soft and ductile enough to be instantaneously moulded into all forms, guarded enough to lose itself in none, and strong enough to endure every vicissitude of

fortune. A greater master in reading and in winning men's hearts never existed than William."

A man like this might at other times have remained unfathomed by his whole generation; but the marked favour which the Prince had enjoyed with the father was in itself a sufficient ground to be marked for exclusion from the confidence of his son; and Philip II. saw quickly and deeply into his character, and perceived that he would have to deal with one who was armed against his own policy, and who, uniting against him the qualities which he prized highest, excited his suspicion and distrust; so that he hated the man to such an extent as to have a supernatural dread of him, and the aversion was naturally reciprocated by the young Prince. This was immeasurably increased in Philip's mind by the doubts he entertained of William's religion;—doubts which the former would naturally feel, for the Prince of Orange had in the Emperor's court affected the Romish Church, though he had been educated a Protestant, but had been already, in the course of his career, Roman, Lutheran, and Calvinist. The Prince indeed defended the liberties of the Protestants rather than their opinions; and it was not their faith, but their wrongs, that drove him in the end to stake every thing for their cause.

Accident, indeed, that makes most men great, produced the changes that elevated William of Orange to be a great leader of the Protestants. He had borne a part in the negotiations that led to the peace of Cateau Cambresis; and was accordingly required to remain in France as hostage for the fulfilment of its conditions. Here, through the imprudence of the French king, Henry II., who imagined he spoke with a confidant of the king of Spain, the prince became acquainted with the secret plot which had been formed by both courts for the suppression of Protestant liberty, and he hastened to Brussels to communicate the important discovery to the nobles of the Netherlands.

Among the greatest of these was Lamoral, Count Egmont. Count Egmont.

Egmont, whose lineage was no less noble than that of William. He was a descendant of those dukes of Gueldres who had been likewise formidable antagonists of the house of Austria. One of his ancestors had, under the Emperor Maximilian, held the high office of Stadtholder of the Low Countries. He himself had served under Charles V. in the battle-fields of St. Quintin and Gravelines; and he had received the order of the Golden Fleece from his sovereign, under whose eyes he had risen to be considered one of the heroes of his age. He was married to a princess of the ducal house of Bavaria, which added considerably to his personal consequence; so that, from his high lineage and military honour, Flemish pride exulted in Egmont as the most illustrious son of their country. He united, indeed, all the eminent qualities that confer greatness. He was a better soldier than the Prince of Orange, although he was in truth far inferior to him as a statesman; and a noble and courteous demeanour, both liberal, bountiful, and chivalrous, graced his merits. But his frankheartedness, that made him popular, managed the secrets of his breast no better than his benevolence did his estate, and, while reckless of his property and ready to do any man a service, a thought no sooner entered his heart than it was the property of all. His religion was gentle and humane, but not very enlightened, because it derived its light from the heart rather than from the understanding. With such a character as this we find Egmont described in the pages of Schiller,—"a vain good man, satisfied with himself, and sauntering on in a sweet reverie as in a delightful world of dreams."

Count Hoorn.

The Prince of Orange and the Count Egmont were both governors of provinces, and also members of the state council. Philip de Montmorency-Nivelle, Count Hoorn, was of a lower class of nobility, although he had been made knight of the Golden Fleece and governor of a province. He had been, moreover, recently named admiral of the Belgian navy. This nobleman was the

great-grandson of that John de Nivelle who had sacrificed a birthright in France out of devotion to the Duke of Burgundy, leaving his paternal inheritance to pass to a brother, who was father of the celebrated Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France. His mother was of the family of Egmont, who had been twice married, first to M. de Nivelle, the father of the Count, who had died in 1530, and secondly to the Count de Hoorn, who, having no children, left his vast estates to the issue of his former marriage, on the condition of their adopting the name of Hoorn. Philip was the eldest son of the first marriage, and, by succeeding to the inheritance of both the husbands of his mother, became one of the richest gentlemen of the Netherlands. He had distinguished himself, like his kinsman D'Egmont, both at St. Quintin and Gravelines, and had united himself with him in a friendship that dated from a long comradeship, sharing in the same opinions both of politics and religion. He associated with the Prince of Orange and Egmont in the many meetings and conferences that were held on the subject of a resistance to the arbitrary conduct of Philip; and the Duke of Alva soon perceived how much the influence of such men as these endangered his policy.

Brederode and others

These three leaders of the great Protestant party of the Low Countries were associated with many of the great families of the province,—such as Henry of Brederode (descended from the old Dutch Counts who formerly ruled as sovereign princes), and the Counts of Kinlenburg, Bergen, and of Batterburg, together with John Philip de Marnix, the Baron de Aldegonde, &c. These men set their hands to a solemn declaration of right, and had secretly acted together against the government. They were assembled for the last time together at Villebronk in 1565, when William urgently counselled immediate, open, and resolute opposition to their intolerant sovereign. It was, as will be seen, rather the character of Egmont to recommend patience

and temporizing measures; but the Prince of Orange showed by the letters he held in his hand, derived, as we have seen above, from reliable authority, that their destruction was resolved upon, and stated that he was resolved to take immediate steps for his own preservation, and to abandon every thing he possessed in the Netherlands rather than trust to any supposed clemency of the tyrant king, or his ruthless lieutenant. "Adieu donc," said Egmont, "prince sans terres!" "Adieu," retorted William, "comte sans tête!" Words of solemn warning, and, as it proved, of melancholy presage[1].

After William of Orange had openly seceded, Alva caused the other two to be arrested and thrown into prison at Ghent on the 10th September, 1567; and after a short process they were both removed to Brussels, and executed on the 4th June, 1568, in spite of the most powerful exertions to save them. Egmont left children; but Count Hoorn having no child by his wife, the large estates of Nivelle and Hoorn descended to his brother Floris, who had also served with distinction in the wars of Charles V., and who also ended his life on the block at Simancas in Spain by order of Philip II.

The Nassau family.

As soon as Alva heard of the Prince of Orange's defection and flight, he ordered the tribunal of nobles to cite his attendance formally; and, on his replying to the citation by a refusal to attend in a public manifesto, he was proscribed, and all his goods were confiscated. His son Philip, who was a student in the University of Louvain, was seized in his tutor's house, and sent away to Spain, where he remained a prisoner many years. The whole family of Nassau sided with their agnate and adopted the cause of liberty, and took the field with

[1] These noblemen were so beloved and so respected by the people that it was thought the Spanish governor would not dare to proceed against them; but Alva is reported to have said, "Les têtes de quelques saumons lui parurent préférables à celles d'un millier de grenouilles."

William[2]. The wife of the Prince of Orange, a daughter of the famous Maurice of Saxony, was left at the family castle of Dillenbourg, where she gave birth to a son, Maurice of Nassau, to whose career it will be our intention to advert. After some unimportant manœuvring in the field, William, with his five brothers and many of the Protestant princes of Germany, encountered the Spanish troops at Heiligensee in 1568, and gained his first victory; but the Spaniards were victorious against him at Groningen, where Louis of Nassau only escaped by swimming the river. William, however, was thenceforward joined by many chiefs of note, and amongst others by William Von der Mark, Count de Lunay, a descendant of the famous Boar of Ardennes, who had vowed neither to cut his beard, nor even to comb it, until he had revenged the blood of his friend D'Egmont; this man was the first to enterprise an attack by sea against the Spanish naval power at the head of some enterprising men, who became a special mark of the times, and who took the name of *Gueux Marins*, or Sea Mendicants.

Les Gueux.

No narrative of the Wars of the Seventeenth Century would be complete without a short account of these Gueux, who gave a party name to those who seceded from Popery and took up arms against Spain. The story is this: Brederode, with the other leaders, had been permitted to present a petition of grievances to Margaret Duchess of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands; but some of those who attended happened to overhear the Count de Barliamont, the Regent's chamberlain, whisper to Her Highness in French, "that these petitioners were but a band of Beggars (des Gueux)." Brederode afterwards related this anecdote at a banquet in which the patriots were assembled, and the guests, already perhaps excited with wine, caught up the expression,

[2] Four of these noble-spirited brothers of the house of Nassau shed their blood in the cause; Adolf, Louis, and Henry in the field, and William by the hand of an assassin.

and immediately stood up and drank to one another, exclaiming in chorus "Vivent les Gueux." When the excitement was at its height Brederode appeared among them, with a wallet over his shoulder, similar to those which the vagrant pilgrims and mendicant monks of the time were accustomed to carry about with them. He also carried in his hand a wooden beaker, and, repeating the toast, drank to all their healths, boldly assuring them that he was ready to venture life and limb in the cause. The enthusiasm was forthwith lighted up afresh, the cup went round, every one uttering the same vow. From thenceforth each one provided himself with a wallet, which became the symbol of party, and in a few days the capital swarmed with the ash-grey garments of mendicancy; the whole paraphernalia of the tribe being fixed about the hats, or suspended from the girdles of the conspirators. The very thing long wanted by the patriotic brotherhood was a name, and that of *Les Gueux* was at once every where adopted.

We see that William of Mark called the adventurers who followed him afloat by the name of *Gueux Marins*. These men (who would have been pirates, but that they banded for a disinterested and public object) having no port of their own in which to harbour, and being shut out from those of England, boldly resolved to take possession of one for themselves, and in 1572 made themselves masters of Brille on the coast of Holland. From thence *Les Gueux Marins* ran in and out in safety, and, at first seizing only small traders, they at length defied the royal squadrons of Spain, and were successful against their ships of war. They formed in truth the cradle in which the renowned Dutch navy were nursed in their Tromps, De Ruyters, and De Winters. The love of liberty, or the resistance against oppression, had already transformed into heroes men who by nature were little accustomed to bear arms, and

who from habit were averse to war; yet Les Gueux prospered and dispersed themselves, spreading every where the contagion of rebellion. The Protestants saw a colourable pretext for insurrection in the arbitrary proceedings of their government; and it was soon evident that all return to submission had become impossible. In fact, a continuance in revolt was rendered every day more necessary from the excitement of resistance as well as from despair. The name of *Gueux* became soon extolled and honourable in all the provinces: the Guesen league concentrated the popular murmur, which, long despised as the cry of individuals, now became formidable from the influence of numbers; the ordinary money became consecrated to the cause, and the Guesen penny, on which was introduced two travellers' staves laid cross-wise, served to intimate that all stood prepared to forsake home and hearth for their humble property, as well as for religion and liberty.

Duke of Alva.

The Duke of Alva in vain entreated the Hollanders, whom his severities had lashed into fury, to lay down their arms; and, in order to pacify Les Gueux, had prescribed moderation in the Church proceedings against heretics: but the people would no longer trust to the promises of one who had so often violated them, and had treated their complaints with such marked severity. At length he got thoroughly tired out, and petitioned for his recall. He was succeeded in his government of the Netherlands by the Commendator Requesens in 1573. The bloody Alva boasted at his departure from his government that he had, in the course of the five years it had lasted, consigned 18,000 persons to the hands of the public executioner!

William becomes Stadtholder.

Although the career of the Prince of Orange was so successful as to raise him to be the marked leader of the revolt, yet in 1579 the jealousy of those who served the great cause with him, and under him, obliged him to form a scheme for uniting the provinces

of Holland and Zealand into a separate state; and this was subsequently expanded to the league of the Seven United Provinces, who adopted for the symbol and arms of their state a bundle of arrows tied together with a ribbon, which has been the cognizance ever since of the Republic of Holland, as it is now of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. But the contest was by no means yet at an end. The country was still the theatre of war, and however the power of Spain was obstinately resisted, the result was doubtful, for the combat was very disproportionate. It was now, then, that all hopes of success seemed to hang upon the preservation of Leyden, long besieged by Valdez. The inhabitants importunately implored the Prince of Orange to save the 14,000 souls that were shut up in the city. It was suggested, as a last resource, that the dykes and sluices that defended the surrounding country from the ocean should be cut, and the waters of the sea let in to dislodge the enemy. The Prince himself indeed represented the inappreciable sacrifice which such an inundation would involve; but the reply of the imprisoned free-minded men of Leyden was, "Pays gâté vaut mieux que pays perdu." The devoted people submitted to the utter destruction of their lands; and in the first days of August, 1580, the banks of the Meuse and the Yssel, between Rotterdam and Gouda, were opened upon the subjacent country, and the salt water flowed freely and unrestrained over the smiling fields and villages of the district. The Spanish army withdrew from the low to the high lands, but did not raise the siege; and for six weeks the summer droughts and contrary winds kept the inundation from impeding hostile purposes, and only added to the privations of the besieged. At length on the 28th September, Boizot with 800 Gueux-marins appeared in sight of Leyden, leading 200 boats laden with all kind of supplies for its relief. Valdez, fearing from the increasing height of the waters that his army would be submerged,

abandoned all his works and artillery, and fled with precipitation; so that on the 3rd October the blockade, that had endured from the 26th May, was removed; and the Prince of Orange arrived next morning in the city, to thank the people for their devotion and constancy; and reaping great additional credit from this event, he increased every day in power and influence. Shortly afterwards he surprised Breda, and induced Utrecht and Amsterdam to declare for the patriots; and the gratitude of his fellows now elected him Stadtholder of all the provinces. The Spanish king was consequently roused into more energetic defence of his territory, and sent against this influence one of the best men of his dominions, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who became a successful rival in the field against William of Orange, and after a time recovered and saved the Spanish retention upon the Netherlands.

William of Orange assassinated.

The Prince of Orange, although checked and proscribed, had become so formidable an enemy to Spain, that a price was set upon his head, and an attempt in consequence was made upon his life by a Frenchman in 1581; but the wound inflicted did not prove mortal to the Prince, though it probably did to the assassin. But in 1584 a second attempt was made with fatal success. While the States of Holland were sharing the hospitalities of their stadtholder in his palace at Delft, on July 17th, one Balthazar Gérard, a Burgundian (and it is said a desperate enthusiast, who thought himself impelled by a Divine command to commit the murderous act), having obtained entrance into the state apartments by treachery, or, as he was known to be in the occasional confidence of the stadtholder, by misrepresentation, so placed himself as that he might with cool aim and certainty fire at William when passing out of the banqueting-hall, and in this manner succeeded in lodging three balls in the body of the illustrious Prince. He instantly fell, and had only

time to ejaculate before he expired, "O God! have mercy on this poor nation." Among those who witnessed the deed were his son Maurice,—then a youth of eighteen years of age, who afterwards succeeded to his influence and consummated his work,—and his fourth wife, Louisa, daughter of the famous Admiral de Coligny. This poor woman had seen three illustrious victims stricken before her eyes;—her own illustrious father, and her first husband, the famous Teligny, had been among the killed on St. Bartholomew's day; and now, greatest of all, William, Prince of Orange, expired in her arms.

Commencement of the Thirty Years' War, 1618.

The blood of martyrs is the seed of liberty as of the Church. The glorious Reformation had caused blood to flow on the earth like water; but, like the winds of Æolus, freedom of thought as well as freedom of belief had become unchained, and the storm was aggravated rather than restrained by deeds of horror and violence; distant populations were brought near to one another by a common sympathy, and a common danger aroused a like resistance to the arbitrary and haughty encroachments of distant sovereigns upon civil and religious liberty. The revolt of the Netherlands came soon to be imitated, and was now about to be decided on German ground, where an inexhaustible mine of combustibles was already prepared, and laid ready for the explosion.

The Evangelical Union and Catholic League.

The Diet of Ratisbon, to which the Protestants had looked for securing religious peace, had broken up without coming to any decision; and, in consequence, the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes entered for their own security into a confederacy, called the Evangelical Union. But at this critical juncture a highly disputable succession became vacant by the death of the Duke of Juliers, and, in defiance of the imperial prohibition, the Union troops took possession of that duchy, and the whole country submitted to the Protestant princes, who held the Imperialist troops besieged in the capital town of Juliers. This disputed succession became a matter that soon interested fo-

reigners as well as Germans, for it opened a scene of operations for those who were hostile to Austria as well as for those who were favourable to liberty. A French army, under Henry IV. in person, agreed to meet the troops of the Evangelical Union on the banks of the Rhine, and to assist in effecting the conquest of Juliers and Cleves. The Brabanteers and Hollanders equally offered to aid the cause by keeping the army of Spain occupied. The Roman Catholics beheld, with something beyond inactive indignation, the power thus accruing against them by the existence of the Evangelical Union, and framed the plan of the Catholic League to oppose them. The Bishop of Wurzburg supported the plan, and the Bishops of the Empire formed its principal members; but Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, was placed at the head of it.

The Emperor Matthias.

The death of the Emperor Rudolph in 1612 opened a new phase in the affairs of Germany, and, principally by the favour of the Protestants, his brother Matthias was raised to the Imperial throne. They demanded of the new sovereign, as the reward of their support, unlimited religious toleration, and perfect equality of rights between Catholics and Protestants. Upon a refusal the deputies began without hesitation to levy troops, Hungary was asked and consented to renew their old alliance with the Protestants, and they set themselves seriously to work to attain their demand by force of arms. In the mean while the Emperor held his first Diet at Ratisbon in 1613, and Matthias was surprised by a new demand from his subjects, who were then already in arms. The Roman Catholic voters at the Diet were the more numerous; and could therefore carry any question; nevertheless, it was boldly proposed by the Protestants, that henceforth no one religious party was to be permitted to dictate to the other by means of its invariable preponderancy. This demand was of course rejected, and the Diet broke up without coming to any decision.

Count Thurn.

Before the death of Rudolph II., that Emperor had been induced, mainly, as has been said, by the exertions of the Count Thurn, to issue what was termed "a letter of Majesty," that for a time calmed the Protestant party in Bohemia. This Count Thurn was a considerable proprietor, though not a native of that kingdom; but he had been recognized as an influential popular leader, and the Emperor had conferred upon him the place of Burgrave or Castellan of Calstein, with the custody of the royal crown of the kingdom, and of the national charter. The Roman Catholic councillors of Matthias at this time induced His Imperial Majesty to deprive Count Thurn of this office; and this act deeply wounded his vanity, and roused in him a spirit of revenge. He had already taken an active part in the troubles of the Bohemian kingdom; and now an opportunity occurred of arousing the Protestants of Bohemia against some act of the government in the little town of Klostergrab, which was declared to be in opposition to "the letter of Majesty." The Emperor haughtily rejected the petition presented to him, and pronounced the conduct of the petitioners illegal and rebellious. Thurn therefore exerted all his influence to make it what his sovereign had pronounced it to be. On the 23rd May, 1618, under his advice the people rose in revolt, and threw the Imperial commissioners, Martinetz and Slawata, out of a very lofty window of the Castle; they then seized upon the Imperial revenues, got the soldiers to enter into their service, and summoned the entire Bohemian kingdom to avenge the common laws. All Bohemia, with the exception of only three towns, took part in the insurrection, and the heads of the Evangelical Union supported the courage of the insurgents by promises of assistance. Count Mansfeld (of whom more hereafter), who had for some time commanded with repute the Spanish army in the Netherlands, was found from private motives ready to change his religion and his allegiance to aid any

opposition to the Emperor, and, having raised a force of 4000 men in Germany, placed it at the disposal of the Union, and forthwith carried it into Bohemia. The Emperor sent two armies under Bucquoi and Dampierre against the rebellion; but, Count Thurn appeared at the head of another army out of Moravia to oppose them: and these were the circumstances which produced the first conflict, that led to the Thirty Years' War.

Frederick, Elector Palatine, made king of Bohemia.

At this juncture the Emperor Matthias died, and was succeeded by his nephew Ferdinand, son of the Archduke Charles of Styria and Gratz, who is known in history as the Emperor Ferdinand II. The Bohemians and Hungarians repudiated his right of succession to the hereditary estates, and elected Frederick the Elector Palatine to the Bohemian throne, and Bethlem Gabor, an influential Protestant, to be King of Hungary [3].

[3] Compiled principally from Schiller's History.

MAURICE OF ORANGE-NASSAU,

A NETHERLANDISH GENERAL.

Born 1567. Died 1625.

THIS great warrior falsified the proverb which says that "the children of heroes are generally good for nothing;" for if Maurice did not equal his father in greatness of soul, he surpassed him in the knowledge of war, and of government. From his earliest childhood his ambition was to take him for a model; and it was his boyish fancy to take for his device the trunk of a tree cut down, from the root of which there grew a vigorous sprout, with the motto "Tandem fit surculus arbor." Not only was it natural in a son to desire to emulate a most distinguished progenitor, but the desire of Maurice was sharpened by a vindictive feeling against the enemy of his house; and that not only because Spain was the oppressor of his country, but also because King Philip II. was so base as to reward the family of his father's

Introductory.

murderer with the designation of Spanish nobility and the grant of three lordships, over and above the payment of the price that had been set upon the head of the Prince of Orange. The wretched assassin, it is true, suffered the penalty of his crime; and the French, when they conquered Franche-Comté, in which his dotation was situated, were such lovers of virtue as to decree the forfeiture of the lands to the crown of France.

Birth and parentage.

Maurice was the second son of the first William of Orange-Nassau, called the Silent, who was a Prince of the ducal family of Nassau; but had received the appanage of Orange, which distinguishes his line, from a kinsman, a descendant from the ancient family of De Chalons. The great founder of Batavian independence having been forced to fly from his Belgic possessions, to avoid the power of the Duke of Alva, had taken refuge with his wife, Anna, daughter of the renowned Maurice, Elector of Saxony, at the Castle of Dillenburg, the residence of his brother, the Sovereign Count of Nassau; and here Maurice, Count of Orange-Nassau, was born in 1584, and was named after his celebrated Saxon grandfather. He entered the world at the very moment that his father had made the sacrifice of all his wealth and honours to the cause of liberty; and he was destined to be himself the builder and finisher of the immortal structure commenced, under so many adversities and disadvantages, by his truly immortal father. He had an elder brother, Philip William (a godson of the King of Spain), born from William's first wife, Anna, daughter of Count Egmont; but this youth had been seized in his tutor's house at Louvain, while quietly prosecuting his studies at that university, by order of the ruthless Alva (as soon as he had become apprised of William's flight), and had been carried prisoner to Spain, where he languished for thirty years. Maurice had just entered his eighteenth year when his father was cruelly assassinated, at Delft, by Balthazar Gérard, in 1584; but he had already been remarked by those around him for courage and genius,

for he had studied at Heidelberg and Leyden, where his intelligence had highly distinguished itself. He had also entered on his military studies in the field under the eyes of his great father himself, and was with him in his paternal house with his mother at the time of that barbarous murder. During the lifetime of his elder brother (who was released from his captivity in 1595, but afterwards married and lived at Brussels, where he died without children in 1618), Maurice was never called otherwise than Count Maurice of Nassau, but he assumed the title of Prince of Orange[1] upon his elder brother's death.

It can be well believed that the people of the revolted Dutch provinces were filled with sorrow and consternation at being deprived of their mainstay and hope by the death of the Prince of Orange. In their first despondency, after the death of their Stadtholder, mistrusting the youth and inexperience of their own young Prince, they had addressed themselves to England, and offered the Sovereignty of the Provinces to Queen Elizabeth. But that prudent Sovereign was too wise to risk a war with Spain for a province across the waters, and too honest to take any part in an intrigue against another's sceptre; so that she had replied with dignity to the ambassadors who were sent with the offer— "Il ne seroit pour moi ni beau ni honnête de m'emparer du bien d'autrui." They consequently turned, *en dernier résort*, to the young son of the murdered William, and Maurice was raised to the Stadtholder-

Queen Elizabeth declines the proffered Sovereignty of the United Provinces.

[1] Orange is a city in the south of France, the capital of the principality of that name, which was bestowed by Charlemagne, as a reward for military services, on De Chalons, to be held by him as a fief of the Comtes de Provence; and was inherited by the Nassau family through the marriage of Claude de Chalons in the fifteenth century. It had been an important place in the time of the Romans, by whom it was called *Aurancia*, after the yellow stone of which it was built; of which word *Orange* is a corruption, and it has no kind of reference to the fruit bearing that name.

ate of Holland in 1586, before he was twenty years of age. He at once took the field against the Duke of Parma, then Governor-General of the Low Countries for the King of Spain, as Captain-General, and Admiral of the United Provinces.

Sir Philip Sidney.

In this quality one of the first acts of his duty was to give the right hand of fellowship to our renowned English hero, Sir Philip Sidney, who landed at Flushing with the advance of Leicester's army this same year. Hither came down Maurice in person to take Sir Philip to his heart as a brother and a companion in arms, and a warm friendship sprang up between these eminent men. It would appear as if, in those early days of regular armies, the Confederate contingents undertook such operations as pleased them, without combining them in any common system of strategy. Accordingly we find Sir Philip, a young man of thirty, and with no higher responsibility than Governor of Flushing, scouring about the country to seek for adventures, and writing to his Commander-in-Chief to send him up some thousands of footmen and horse, to enable him to besiege Steenbergen, that he might make the enemy raise the siege of Grave, held by a garrison of Netherlanders. Leicester, however, was not quite disposed to gratify his young kinsman to this extent, and was in his nature dilatory and luxurious, and utterly incapable of directing a campaign; indeed it must be admitted that Sir Philip Sidney evinced much better knowledge of the art of war than his General. He was, however, confessedly acting altogether out of his commission, without forethought or knowledge of circumstances: very like a dashing young man, but like all such (of whom there are examples in every campaign), more eager to gratify his own desire for personal distinction than to act in subordination to the General-in-Chief. The Duke of Parma was far more than a match for Leicester, or the young General of cavalry, and, quietly biding his time, circumvented both, and

raised his flag upon the loftiest tower of Grave on the 7th of June. Count Maurice however now proposed congenial employment for his friend Sidney, by asking Leicester to send him in command of a detachment to assist him in the capture of Axel, a strong town in Zeeland, a few miles from the southern bank of the Scheldt. The Earl gave his assent, and sent up Sir Philip with 3000 foot soldiers, under the personal direction of Hohenlohe, Willoughby, and Hatton. In the spirit of that day, the young chieftain, who was brimful of every learned accomplishment, addressed to his men "some true-hearted words," while they were standing up to their knees in water, awaiting the signal for attack. About two hours after midnight on the 6th of July this was given, and Sir Philip "would needs have the first entry," so that, although in the chief command, he jumped into the ditch, at the head of some 30 or 40 men, and "swimming easily across it," scaled the walls and opened the gates to the rest of his followers. "This leading and entering of the town was notably performed." About 600 men of the "sleepy garrison" were slain by the sword or pushed into the water, and the capture of Axel exalted the character of the English army in the opinion of Maurice and his Netherlanders, and raised the renown of Sir Philip Sidney.

Expedition against Axel.

In August, Sir Philip served under Leicester at the reduction of Doesburg, which led to the field of Zutphen, so glorious to the Confederate arms, but so fatal to the rising glory of our young hero. On Thursday, 22nd of September, 500 Englishmen, with Sidney at their head, advanced under cover of a thick fog to the very walls of the town, when the fog lifted, and they found themselves in a very unexpected and perilous situation. They saw 1000 horsemen drawn up before them, and were themselves exposed to the range of the guns from the ramparts, and to a heavy fire of musketry from the advanced works. Very

bravely they charged, but after an hour and a half's hard fighting were constrained to retreat. Sidney's horse was killed under him, and he was accordingly placed in great danger. He promptly mounted a fresh horse, and shared in a second charge with no better result. He now was unfortunately persuaded by Sir William Pelham, the lord-marshal of the camp, to lighten himself of his armour, and with this object he threw off his "cuisses." All the Englishmen that could be collected (though scattered by these ineffective operations about the field) now united to make a third onset, when a ball from a musket struck Sidney in the leg above the knee, and shattering the bone lodged in the upper thigh. He could not be prevailed upon to dismount, but rode as he was to Leicester's tent, where, being overcome with thirst, he called for some drink. A bottle of water was brought him, but as he was putting it to his mouth, he saw a private soldier setting greedy eyes upon the coveted draught. Sidney, in a chivalrous disinterested spirit, handed the flask to the soldier, with the memorable words, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine." It does not appear that amputation was attempted; nevertheless it was more than a fortnight before mortification set in, and it was twenty-five days subsequent to the wound that one of the purest and noblest spirits that ever animated human flesh passed away from earth to heaven[2].

Count Maurice was for a considerable period rather disturbed than assisted by the English auxiliary force under the Earl of Leicester, whose haughty conduct, intolerable pride, and unmeasured ambition, did the States more mischief than the money he brought with him, or the troops that he commanded, did them service. Leicester, being at the head of an armed force, assumed the state which he coveted, and was himself indeed fain to have accepted the Sovereignty which

[2] Motley.

they tendered even to him; but when, however, this came to the ears of his imperious Mistress, it brought down upon him a rebuke that he dared not despise, and awakened the minds of the Hollanders to the claims of that son of their own, who proved himself more capable than any Englishman or Frenchman to save them in their dire necessity.

Antwerp surrenders to the Duke of Parma.

Maurice came now, however, to be pitted against the renowned Alexander Farnese, Duke de Parma, the victor of the battle of Lepanto, and the saviour of Paris. Unopposed for a season, this conqueror overran the Netherlands. In 1585 he set down before the forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek on the Scheldt, which he stormed and carried by the aid of a high wind, which overpowered the garrison with the smoke of some wet hay. He also got possession of Ghent and Dendermonde, but he was forced to raise the siege of Lille. Antwerp, however, still held out, and the Dutch endeavoured to throw in supplies, but at length it likewise was forced to surrender to the Spaniards.

Destruction of the Armada encourages the Dutch.

The destruction of the great Spanish Armada by the English in 1588 infused new hopes into all the enemies of Spain, and animated the Dutch with such courage, that Maurice led his army against that of the Duke of Parma, and forced him to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, at that time garrisoned by a portion of Leicester's army, under the command of Sir Francis Vere. This brave commander, who had given such fame to her army, that true courage might not want its due reward, had just received from the hands of Lord Willoughby the honour of knighthood, which the Queen had ordered him to confer. The young Stadtholder was induced by this success to surprise the Castle of Blyenbeck, which was yielded to his arms in 1589; and the following year he got possession of Breda by a *ruse de guerre*, which did not cost any effusion of blood. The manner in which the castle was surprised evinced some ability. The garrison was supplied with

turf for firing by a boatman, who was persuaded to stow away below the turf about 70 soldiers. It was extremely cold weather, and the garrison welcomed with joy the fresh supply of fuel. By this means the men entered the town, and after dark opened the gates to their comrades, who were led in by Maurice himself, accompanied by Prince Hohenlohe, and Sir Francis Vere, who, entering the castle, obtained the keys from Lanza Neechia, the governor. The Duke of Parma was now recalled from the Low Countries into France, and the old Peter Ernest, Count de Mansfeld, succeeded to the government of the Low Countries. The old general one day remarked to a trumpeter who had been sent in with a message from the Dutch army, that he admired their master, who was a young Prince full of heat and courage. "His Excellency," said the trumpeter, "was a young Prince, it was true; but he was one who desired to become one day such an old and experienced general as His Excellency of Mansfeld."

The Duke of Parma is succeeded by the Count de Mansfeld.

Maurice defeated the Spanish army in the open field at Caervorden, and took Nimeguen and Zutphen. Our countrymen, under Sir Francis Vere, obtained the latter place by the following stratagem: he dressed several young soldiers, whose complexions were thoroughly English, in the costume of the peasant women of those parts, and gave them baskets and packs to carry as if passing in to market; but under their female garments each man carried arms. They were sent in by twos and twos, with directions where to assemble; they were to sit down at a ferry, as if waiting for the ferry-boat. This happened to be near a fort, the possession of which would greatly facilitate the capture of the town, and the gate of which was customarily opened for the marketers. Accordingly, on they all rushed together; and a well-timed support of 200 men, who were all ready, speedily ran up to their assistance, and carried the fort. These successes added greatly to the

Capture of Nimeguen by Maurice.

reputation of Count Maurice, who now made considerable progress, so that in the year 1591 the Dutch saw their frontiers extended, and had well-grounded hopes of driving the Spaniards out of Friesland in another campaign. The original appointment of Stadtholder, as it had been conferred on Maurice and his illustrious father, was only an office in the province of Holland; but as the territory became extended by other provinces joining in the revolt, the same office was conferred on Maurice by all. It strictly meant Lieutenant, or Governor, under a King: and was employed in this contest to imply at the first that the Provinces revolted against the Duke of Alva, and not against King Philip.

Maurice takes Gertruydenberg.

The death of the Prince of Parma delivered the Confederates from a formidable adversary; but old Count Mansfeld, at the head of an army of 30,000 men, took the field against them. Maurice, however, in 1593, notwithstanding this cowering force, sat down before Gertruydenberg, advantageously situated on the frontier of Brabant. In order to prevent any disturbance from the Spanish army, the town was surrounded by a very strong line of circumvallation, and a considerable fleet of gunboats was brought up into the Meuse. By means of this water communication, the besiegers were supplied with every thing requisite for a siege. While this was in progress, a spy was caught carrying despatches from the Governor to the General. Maurice made him pass through his lines under circumstances opportunely placed for his observation, and his report evidently deterred Mansfeld from attempting any interruption; and the town surrendered. With the useful aid of Sir Francis Vere and the English, Maurice afterwards took Gronenburg and Grave, which formed part of his own patrimony.

The Duke of Parma was succeeded in the government of the Netherlands by the Archduke Albert, a younger son of the Emperor Maximilian, who was married to

Isabella, daughter of King Philip. Maurice was, however, again successful against the Spaniards at Turnhout in 1597; in consequence of which many strong places surrendered to him before the end of the campaign. Here he defeated and slew the Count de Varax, Lord de Balançon, and captured 2000 prisoners. Maurice had their arms and banners hung up in the great Hall of Council at the Hague. It happened that he received in this apartment at this period an ambassador of Sigismund, King of Poland, who had been sent at the instigation of the Spanish King to frighten the Hollanders into submission by high-sounding words and threatenings, "according to the eloquence of his nation;" but the Stadtholder, without using many words, showed him the trophies of his victory. He admitted that it was new to him to learn that the King of Spain was not altogether invincible.

Death and character of Philip II.

The death of Philip II. in 1598 freed Holland from a ruthless tyrant, and the house of Orange from its bitterest enemy. This sovereign was a man of very great ability, and a monarch of immense European influence. He united the whole of the Peninsula under his sceptre, and added the treasures of the Western to those of the Eastern world. The commercial acquisitions to Spain at this period embraced the circuit of the globe, and realized the proud boast that has long since passed away from the Catholic King, that the sun never set on the dominions of Spain. The haughty monarch, despairing of reducing the Low Countries to obedience, and affecting an accommodation, that he might die in peace, transferred the Sovereignty to his daughter Isabella, who accordingly wrote to the States, entreating them not to refuse submission to their own Princess. But the States returned no reply, being resolved to complete the independence for which they had so long struggled. Accordingly, in 1599, Albert and Isabella established an interdict between all the Spanish dominions and the

Dutch Provinces, in order to destroy the trade of that eminently commercial people.

The war therefore was continued with spirit. In 1601 Maurice had obtained some valuable reinforcements to his army from the German and Swiss mercenaries, who had been disbanded by the French king on his making peace with Spain. But, on the other hand, the Spanish army was much augmented by fresh levies out of Spain, Italy, and Germany. The States were bent on opening the campaign with some brilliant operation, and it was resolved to besiege Dunkirk. The Archduke resolved to disturb the siege, and with this view marched at the head of 10,000 infantry and 1600 horse: but he found the enemy in position at Nieuport, ready and eager to come to an engagement. On this occasion Maurice did an act, which, bold and somewhat rash in appearance, was in its consequences one of great wisdom, and admirably suited to the very critical emergency in which he and his army were placed at this juncture. He sent away the whole fleet of vessels that had hitherto accompanied his march, and by this expedient made his followers sensible that they could now have no choice between victory, or captivity, or death. The enemy was already in sight; and it was clear that, if they should be defeated, retreat was altogether impossible. He then rode down to his army, and thus addressed them: "My friends! we must now either fall instantly and with all our power upon the enemy, or be driven into the sea. Take your choice: mine is already made. I will either conquer by your valour, or I will never survive the disgrace of being beaten by troops who will despise us." This address, spoken with earnestness and confidence, and with great dignity, had a remarkable and salutary effect upon the troops, which was very much assisted by a few words afterwards addressed to them by an admiral, who good-humouredly told the men: "If we do not overcome the enemy, we must drink up all the

Siege of Dunkirk, by Maurice.

water of the sea, for there is no way of our escaping from hence unless we could march away by the dry bed of the ocean." Maurice thought to hold the post at Leffingen, by which the Archduke would be obliged to advance; and he placed Ernest of Nassau, with some Zeelanders, Sir Francis Vere and the Scotch, and four pieces of cannon, with artillery to defend the post. The Spaniards were checked by this daring attempt to stop them, and awaited the coming up of their whole army, when they fell upon the devoted detachment. But, by their resolute bearing, the Scotch and Dutch maintained their ground, and, when forced to retire, fell orderly back, after inflicting a loss of 900 men upon the enemy. The Dutch army were now formed upon the sandhills, with their cavalry on either flank. Louis de Nassau commanded the centre; and Sir Francis Vere, with 4000 English and Scotch, was on the line. A little before the fight there was a dispute of honour between the young Prince Henry Frederick and his brother Maurice, who desired his cadet, as a mere stripling of seventeen years of age, to retire from the field, that in case of misfortune he might be left to defend his country and his family. But the brave youth resisted, and said he would run the same fortune with Maurice, and live or die with him. For two hours the artillery on either side preluded the combat, during which the Admiral of Arragon endeavoured to lead the Spanish cavalry by a narrow way between the sandhills and the sea, seeking to turn the right of the Dutch position. But Maurice turned his guns upon him with such effect, that, aided by the fire of the musketeers from the heights, he completely frustrated that attempt. The infantry now engaged along the whole line, pike to pike, and sword to sword, in close personal conflict. The Dutch left wing at one moment faltered; but they recovered their ground, and then never yielded an inch. At length they forced back both the wings of the Spanish army opposed to them,

and some weakness was apparent in the line, at sight of which Maurice sent forward Sir Francis Vere, and placed himself at the head of all his cavalry, while a body of Swiss that was in reserve moved to the front. These troops broke through the enemy's centre, and the rout was complete. A cry of "Victory" was immediately raised along the whole Dutch line. The Admiral of Arragon, Maestro del Campo, was captured, with many other commanders, and all the cannon and baggage. The Archduke's pages were included in the number taken, but Count Maurice sent them all back without ransom. Both the Archduke and the Duke d'Aumale were wounded in the fight. On the side of the victors the brave Lord-Marshal (as Sir F. Vere was now called) was wounded in two places, and had a horse killed under him.

This battle was fought on July 2nd, the anniversary of a day that 300 years before had been fatal to the German Emperor of the Nassau family, who had lost his life and empire near Spire, in a battle against Albert of Austria; so that it was hailed as avenging the disgrace against another Albert of the same house. The victory was commemorated at the Hague by a grandiose inscription in Latin, purporting that Maurice "in Flandriam terram hospitem traducto exercito cum Alberto Austriæ conflixit—copias ejus cecidit, duces multos primumque Mendozam cœpit, reversus ad suos victor, signa hostium centum quinque in Hagiensi Capitolis suspendit Deo Bellatori[3]."

[3] "Some 24 prisoners had been captured by the Austrians, and were taken away with them, among whom was one Hazlewood, an Englishman. The Archduke, vexed perhaps at his defeat, ordered eight of these men to be hanged, in retaliation of a like sentence that had been passed upon the same number of his own people. The English soldier had the good fortune to escape the lot; but, seeing one of his companions in danger exhibiting the strongest symptoms of horror and fright when it came to his turn to put his hand into the helmet, John Bull offered to stand the chance for it upon payment down of twelve

Count Maurice had not only been victorious over the Spaniards by land, but he had also had some singular good fortune at sea, where his officers had picked up many of the ships and galleons, that had been scattered, belonging to the Spanish Armada. A short time previously Dunenworde, Lord of Varmont, had acted with the fleet under the Earl of Essex in taking the town of Cales, and burning the Spanish fleet there; and another Dutch Admiral, Peter Vanderdoes, had made a descent upon the Canary Isles, and taken considerable booty.

Capture of Nieuport, Dunkirk, and Bois le Duc.

Nieuport surrendered to Maurice twelve days after the battle; and he resolutely persevered with the siege of Dunkirk, which was also surrendered to him: and being now master of the situation, he undertook the sieges of Rhinberg and Bois le Duc, making Ostend his *place d'armes* and base of operations. This career of victory was indeed of the first importance to the States, for a reverse at this juncture might have been followed by the utter loss of the liberties and independence of the young Republic. It has been questioned whether Maurice would not have done better if he had followed closely upon the Archduke's army after his victory at Nieuport, since, as reinforcements were coming up to Albert, he was ready to take the field again with forces superior to those of his adversary; but his Flemish Council urged him to advance upon Ostend, and to employ his whole strength in depriving the Dutch of this useful port of the sea, which so much disadvantaged their position.

Siege of Ostend.

The siege of Ostend is one of the most remarkable events of the military history of the century, which it

crowns. The offer was accepted; but Hazlewood had the good fortune to escape a second time. Upon being called a fool, for so presumptuously tempting fate, he replied, 'that he considered that he had acted upon the calculations of wisdom; for as he daily hazarded his life for sixpence, he must be deemed to have made a good venture of it for twelve crowns.'"—*Icon Animorum*.

may be said to have inaugurated. It commenced on the 11th July, 1601. The town was much more considerable in extent and importance at this period than it has ever been since; and its proximity to the sea, with the command of dykes and sluices, which were retained within the works, rendered it a place of considerable strength. A garrison was now placed in it, consisting of all the English and Scotch who had so greatly distinguished themselves in the battle of Nieuport, and the charge of the place was entrusted to Sir Francis Vere, the Lord-Marshal, as Governor. The sea was kept by the vigilance of De la Mark with his Gueux-marins, aided by some English vessels of war, which allowed of the fortress being continually provisioned and supplied with every thing needful, while it facilitated a continual supply of fresh troops to the garrison. By these means the siege was prolonged for the extraordinary period of three and a half years; 80,000 men are said to have perished in it; treasures to the amount of more than two millions were expended in it: so that when taken at last it seemed rather a cemetery than a city. It was the turning-point of the war.

The approaches of the besieged were disputed with great valour, until at length the Spaniards were enabled to raise batteries, which not only commanded the defences of the place, but plunged upon the harbour, so that the shipping could no longer lie there, and an attempt was made to get the command of the sea, and to starve the town into submission. To counteract this effect upon the sea defences, the besieged made an inner basin, which the fire of the besiegers could not reach. They also caused the dykes to be cut and the sluices to be opened, which let in such a body of water upon the earthworks of the Spaniards, as flooded and washed them down. The besiegers therefore began to dam up with incredible labour the broken embankments, and to convey the guns and troops along their summit; and by their exertions new platforms were placed and fresh

guns placed in battery, when a furious bombardment, that was heard at London, opened upon the roofs and belfries of the devoted town. The brave Lord-Marshal was wounded in the early part of the siege by the bursting of a gun, and was under the necessity of quitting his post, and of removing to Zeeland for surgical treatment; but he soon returned to his command, and in December repulsed an attempt made to surprise his ramparts, with the loss of 500 men of his garrison. In January, 1604, the besiegers, having collected a great force of artillery and troops, opened such a fire, that 2200 shot are said to have fallen in one day; and under this fire a furious assault was made, which was driven back with complete success.

At the end of eight months, the heroic Governor, finding his men quite worn out with the continual harass and toil of watching and fighting, requested leave for himself and his men to withdraw from the garrison, and by the Stadtholder's permission the Lord-Marshal gave over the govenorship to Colonel Frederick Dorp, a Dutchman, in March, 1602. When the English and Scotch quitted Ostend there was scarcely a house left standing in it; and 163,200 shot were said to have fallen in the town and port. The besieged are said to have established a singular force to aid the defence, termed *Lopers*. They were soldiers armed with a long pike, having a flat head at the nether end thereof, to prevent it from sinking too deep into the mud; they were also armed with a harquebuse hung in a scarf, a coutelas at their side, and they carried a dagger suspended from the neck. These men, selected for their agility, could leap over a ditch twenty-four feet broad, where no horseman could overtake them, using their lance as a pole, and instantly having recourse to their fire-arms when safe across. They are said to have proved exceedingly harassing to the besiegers. Sir Francis Vere proved himself an excellent officer, and an admirable governor of a besieged fortress. He had

learned his art well, as is proved by his "Commentaries," written by himself, which are even still deserving of the study of military men. He was held by Queen Elizabeth to be "the worthiest Captain of her time."

As the siege proceeded, Count Maurice exerted himself to get together a powerful army in the field, to force the Archduke to raise it. But, although he was not successful in effecting this result, he made the undertaking so onerous, that the Viceroy got disgusted with the task, and giving up the command in the field to Rivales, one of the generals under him, withdrew to Brussels to consult his counsellors as to the devising of new measures for accomplishing the reduction of Ostend; an enterprise on which his wife, the Archduchess Isabel, "the only man of her family," was so set, that she vowed not to change her garments until success had crowned the endeavour. The hue known as "Isabel-colour," which is somewhat of a dirty yellow, was so named from the shade acquired by the smock of the Spanish Princess in the long period during which the siege of Ostend lasted. The ladies of her Court afterwards made the colour fashionable by their adoption of it, as a *delicate* attention to their devoted mistress. In a military point of view, the siege had already attracted officers of all nations, who came to study the arts by which the town was defended, and the expedients on either side, in illustration of the attack and defence of strong places. The mighty earthworks which the Spaniards raised, although in later times vastly exceeded by those of the Russians, became a perfect school for the engineers of all nations.

When the siege had endured to 1603, the Spanish fleet off the port, under the command of Don Frederick Spinola, unable to endure the discredit of allowing the vessels of the Gueux to keep the sea, resolved to attack the vessels of Zeeland lying in the haven of Sluys, and went in against them with eight galleys and some vessels of war. A smart engagement ensued, in which Frederick

Ostend surrenders.

Spinola was slain, and his fleet was so ill handled that it was constrained to take refuge under the cannon of the town, which was held by the Spanish forces. Maurice accordingly sat down before the fortress, with a view to distract the attention of the besiegers at Ostend. But the King of Spain, intent upon its reduction, lavished the treasures of Peru and Mexico in the formation of a new army, the command of which he entrusted to the celebrated Genoese nobleman, the Marquis Spinola, brother of the Admiral who had been lately slain. The superior military qualifications of this renowned General speedily changed the face of affairs at the siege. He soon proved that no fortification, however strong, or however well defended, is impregnable when the skill of the engineer is seconded by the energy and operation of a disciplined force. The advanced posts of the besieged were at once driven in behind their works; roads were constructed across the inundations on fascines; and not only were more powerful batteries formed, but their destructive power was augmented by the employment of mines. The bastions soon crumbled under this combined agency; the earthworks were shaken to their foundations, until the ramparts became utterly shattered and indefensible. General Marquette, a Flemish General of reputation, had now succeeded to the post of Governor. The garrison was exhausted with the incessant demand that the long siege had made upon their *morale;* their comforts were sensibly diminished, since the blockade by land had been accompanied by a similar effort from the sea-board, and the port had become closed against all friendly assistance, so that the Governor saw that he could neither defend the ramparts nor abandon the place: under these circumstances he offered to capitulate. Spinola was too rejoiced at the prospect of obtaining for the King, his master, an object so much desired by him, and offered the most favourable terms. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours

of war, and permitted to join Count Maurice at Sluys, of which place he had obtained possession a few weeks previously. It was not a little to the surprise and astonishment of the Spaniards, when 4000 men in perfect condition marched out of Ostend on 22nd September, 1605, and, with drums playing and colours flying, passed through their ranks, not with the air of a defeated force, but with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of soldiers prepared for action. The States were justly proud of their army, and were consoled for the loss of Ostend by the acquisition that their Stadtholder had made of Sluys, Rienbach, and Grave: and to commemorate the circumstance they caused a medal to be struck, with this inscription,—"Jehova plus dederat quam perdimus."

The Dutch navy successfully copes with that of Spain.

Spinola was now recalled to Spain[4], to advise the King as to the best means to be employed against his revolted Provinces; for His Majesty was more than ever resolved by this success to employ some plan of conquest. By the will of Philip II. they were to revert to Spain if the Archduke left no issue; and the Infanta had been now long married, and no hope of children remained to her. Philip III. therefore regarded the Netherlands still as an appanage of Spain, and thought that the power of the Old and New World combined could effect this object. Spinola gave it as his opinion that it was next to impossible to make successful war against a country so rich in water-defences as Holland, and with so many strongly fortified towns and fortresses, and deemed it preferable to take them in reverse by an advance from the side of Guelderland, which was more readily accessible to the Royal armies. New levies were accordingly raised in Italy and Spain, and Spinola was nomi-

[4] Maurice very nearly obtained possession of the person of his renowned antagonist, as he passed on his way through Paris, by the means of some of the free companies who kept the country on that side.

nated again to the command in chief. The States saw their impending danger, and prepared to provide against it. Maurice had well measured the peculiar talents of his adversary, and counselled that a policy purely defensive should be adopted for the campaign by land, but that great exertions should be made by sea. The Dutch marine force had become so respectable, that it was quite a match for that of Spain whenever they might meet; and accordingly, independently of the defence of their own coast, they fitted out a fleet under Admiral Heemskirk to attack a fleet of Spanish ships and galleons in the Bay of Gibraltar, commanded by Admiral Davila, in 1607. The Castilian, like the famous Goliath of Gath, proud of his strength and superior might, looked down with contempt upon the Gueux in their little galleys, and inquired of a Dutchman whom he had made prisoner, "what they were coming there for?" "To fall upon your fleet in an instant." "They can scarcely be so mad," said the confident Davila, "for my single flagship is sufficient to crush their entire flotilla." However, on came Heemskirk, but at the first shot a cannon-ball carried away his legs, and he died, ordering, with his last breath, that the attack should be persevered in. His commands were fulfilled; the great unwieldy men-of-war were driven upon the rocks, and foundered on every side. Count Maurice, with the home fleet, made, about the same time, a bold attempt against Antwerp, but was thwarted by a dreadful tempest, that destroyed forty vessels of his armament, and in which he very nearly perished himself. The King of Spain, enraged at these naval expeditions, ordered that the Dutch should every where be regarded as pirates, and that any prisoners that might be taken should be hung. Maurice accordingly sent Admiral Hautain into the Tagus, with orders to give no quarter to the Spaniards. The severe reprisals that occurred on either side were sad enough, and made men desperate. Vice-Admiral

Klaazon found himself beset in his single ship by four Spanish vessels. His mainmast was carried away, and his hull was riddled with cannon-shot, when, finding he had nothing left but to surrender, he blew himself up with all his crew, and by the same act committed fearful damage upon his assailants.

The United Provinces become independent.

Maurice, at the head of the Dutch army, protected the country from all the endeavours of Spinola to occupy it; and every stratagem of war was exhausted by these two great masters of the art. The expenses of the war became too heavy even for the masters of the wealth of the New World. The Spanish commerce was seriously checked and impaired by the Dutch marine, and the lack of silver rendered it impossible even for Spinola, whose great masterwork of command was the regular pay of his troops, to keep the soldiers to their colours. They broke into open mutiny for want of pay; and the great Genoese nobleman, shocked and disgusted at such a condition of things, counselled the Spanish King to peace; representing to him the impracticability of conquering a people so resolved to be independent; and proving to His Majesty that it was better policy to give repose to his people under the quiet possession of a considerable province, rich and populous, than to sacrifice every thing to recover seven poor and distant States which would never repay the trouble of retaining them. Such doctrine was, however, new and unpalatable to the haughty Spaniard. But the opinion of the General was supported by the diplomacy of friendly powers; and the King's consent was extorted by these means to open negotiations with the Dutch Republic as an independent State. The first conferences having this object were held at the Hague in 1607, at which envoys from England and France assisted. These Ambassadors, high-born and high-bred, were, it is stated, thrown aback on witnessing the arrival of the deputies from the Seven United Provinces. Seven men with long beards were seen to disembark from a galley, and prepared to take, in the open air, a repast

of bread and cheese, and beer. "Ah!" exclaimed these refined plenipotentiaries; "if these are the men with whom we have to do, 'il nous faut faire la paix; jamais on ne pourra survaincre de tels gens.'" However, if such, as has been recorded, was the first impression of the Spanish negotiators, they soon found it to be true, for it was as impossible to overcome them in argument as in the field, since in 1609 they were still disputing the details of a treaty, when the two commanders of the armies arrived at the Hague.

The country was, in fact, not so much at one in their wishes and opinions as in their humble fare. Two parties divided the leading men of Holland at this period, distinguished as all men every where were at the juncture by different religious opinions; these were known as Gomarists and Arminians. The latter was headed by the Grand Pensionary Barneveldt, around whom rallied all the most austere republicans. The former was that of Maurice himself. Barneveldt's party had become jealous and suspicious of the Stadtholder's military reputation, and were desirous of peace, as a means of checking the influence of his glory. The Orange faction, on the other hand, was as eager, from the same motives, to continue the war. Maurice therefore threw every obstacle in the way of an accommodation. But the high reputation of Barneveldt for virtue, and honesty, and the great confidence in his wisdom, which had been shown in the ample means by which, in his high office, he had aided the victories of the Republic, and now counselled time and repose for consolidating their liberties, and recovering their country, so thoroughly exhausted as it was by the war, prevailed at length; and the negotiations continued. Barneveldt at the very first sitting refused to treat at all, unless Spain consented in express terms to recognize Holland,—as composed of the Seven United Provinces,—as an independent State, to whom should be freely granted the commerce of the Indies,

on the footing of other foreign nations; together with the assurance, that the people should be left in the undisputed possession of religious liberty. The Spanish negotiators hesitated to concede these preliminary conditions, until James I. of England and Henry IV. of France intimated that they would withdraw from the Hague unless the Dutch showed more moderation. At length a cessation of arms, known as the Truce of Treves, was concluded for twelve years, during which period territories on either side were to be respected, and commerce was to continue on the old footing. The Stadtholder appeared in public to be reconciled to the Pensionary by the attainment of this great national victory, but in his heart he did not pardon the opposition that he felt persuaded was directed against himself and the ambitious designs that he might have been conscious that he entertained. Every free country that was ever constituted is divided into at least two parties. In general they are composed of those who are content with the existing state of things, and of those who desire change. The Gomarists and Arminians were not exactly divided by any political opinion. They were, in their past existence, followers of two professors of Leyden, on some abstract notions of theology. But they had now degenerated into more mundane divisions. The cessation of the war permitted all classes to range themselves under the one or other category, and the zeal of partisans blazed forth in every kind of vituperation against each other. The Arminians, who were painted as the secret friends and emissaries of Spain, resolved on opposing the great house of Orange-Nassau; on the other hand Maurice went through all the Provinces to denounce the Truce, which he endeavoured to show would be ruinous to their commerce, and that Holland when impoverished, as it would be by the loss of their wealth, would be made easily to succumb to the Spaniards. Libels, condemning Barneveldt as the machinator of the Truce, were anonymously circulated

to raise a prejudice against the Pensionary, and to destroy his influence. In the mean while Barneveldt used his utmost exertions to secure public liberty, and to establish a national militia to uphold it. Maurice stood up for the maintenance of the regular army, who had so well served the country. At length it was necessary to settle these differences, and the Stadtholder chose to base the remedy upon the religious rather than the political phase, and exerted all his influence to call a national Synod. Barneveldt opposed this step with all his might. In spite of him, however, the Synod was called, which assembled at the town of Dordrecht in 1618.

Proceedings of the Synod of Dort.

"The Synod of Dort" is a marked event in the history of the Low Countries. It was attended by the most eminent divines of the Seven Provinces, and by deputies from the Protestant churches of England, Scotland, Switzerland, and Germany. The Arminian side was defended by Grotius, Vossius, and other learned men. But the Gomarists prevailed, and it was carried that all who professed Arminian opinions should be banished. The Stadtholder was now master of the situation, and he was prepared to use his power as those who have been great military leaders have often been seen to do before his time and since. His ambition, and the fear of losing power, rendered him arbitrary and tyrannical. He knew Barneveldt to be opposed to him, and regarded him as a personal enemy, whom without any compunction he resolved to remove out of his path. As chief of the State, he took upon himself to carry into effect the decision of the Synod; but it was not enough for his object to relieve himself of the presence of Barneveldt; he determined to avail himself of the powers confided to him to destroy him and his friends. He added deceitfulness to cruelty in the consummation of his hatred and revenge. On his return to the Hague, he invited Barneveldt, Grotius, and others, to a conference at the

Palace upon affairs of State; and there he accused them of high treason for their language in the Synod, and for the course they had adopted towards him on the questions of the army and militia, and in organizing an opposition against him among the States: and without further notice he had them arrested, and committed them to prison in the Castle of Loevenstein. The States-General demanded that they should be remitted to them for trial on whatever charges were made against them; and the family of Barneveldt urged the advanced age, the long services, and the virtues of the Grand Pensionary as reasons to justify his release from close imprisonment. For all reply Maurice named a commission of twenty-four members of the States-General to inquire into the charges; but these were recognized as being, to a man, calumniators and enemies of the accused. The Synod reassembled of its own accord to stay proceedings; but the Arminians being all proscribed and banished, those who were disposed from other considerations than doctrinal ones to befriend the accused were powerless and intimidated. The Commission decreed that all the prisoners should be consigned to death for "vexing the Church of God." De Maurier, the French ambassador, interfered with energy to stay the iniquitous sentence; and it is said that Maurice so far relented at his entreaties, as to require that the family of Barneveldt should petition for his pardon. But as this might be construed to admit his guilt, they nobly replied "that they would sooner that he should perish in innocence, than that his life should be preserved with the stain of guilt and dishonour upon it." The veteran Barneveldt, at seventy-two years of age, who had served his country in the cabinet with the same ability that Maurice had shown in the field,—whose prudent and patriotic character had been the pride and admiration of his contemporaries,—was, without further ado, brought to a scaffold erected in the courtyard of the

Palace, and, as has been said, before the very eyes of the Stadtholder, was executed as a common malefactor. The last few words addressed to his countrymen were: —"Fellow-citizens, believe me I am no traitor to my country.—A patriot have I lived; and a patriot I die." His death took place in 1619.

The sons of Barneveldt, seeing the general unpopularity that attended this illegal act of the Stadtholder, and resting on the gross injustice of their father's sentence, entered unhappily into a conspiracy, and raised the standard of revolt. But having failed to incite the people, they were arrested, brought to trial, and condemned to death. The widow of Barneveldt was induced personally to solicit from the Stadtholder the pardon of her children. But when Maurice expressed surprise that she did for her sons what she had forborne to do for their father, the heroic mother replied with indignation,—"I would not crave a pardon for my husband, because he was innocent. I ask it for my sons, because I know them to have been guilty." The sentence passed on Grotius at the same time with the Grand Pensionary was commuted to imprisonment for life. But by the ingenuity of his wife he succeeded in making his escape from the Castle of Loevenstein concealed in a chest of books, in which he was safely carried away; and he survived more than thirty years, to add to his fame and usefulness in the world.

Death of Philip William of Orange-Nassau.

It was during these events that Philip William of Orange-Nassau, the elder brother of Maurice, died. After having been detained a close prisoner for more than thirty years in Spain, Philip II., who was his godfather, either moved by compassion, or hoping that his deliverance might create divisions and jealousies among the brothers of the family, released him. Maurice, however, behaved most liberally towards him, and let him enjoy without question all the family estates which were still in their possession; and the King of Spain restored to him those which had been confis-

cated. He received little education in Spain but the Catholic faith, and being new and strange to every thing in Holland, he took up his residence at Brussels, having married Eleanor de Bourbon, Princess de Condé, by whom he had no children. This marriage with the first princess of France put him in possession of the principality and town of Orange. He was subject to great violence of temper; and when, in Spain, the captain who guarded him spoke disrespectfully of his great father, he instantly seized him, and threw him out of a window, and broke his neck by the fall. The council were puzzled what course to pursue towards this princely prisoner, but in the end resolved to look over the offence, and to construe the encounter indulgently. He and his wife both died in the same year, 1618, when Maurice took upon himself the quality of Prince of Orange, and inherited his whole estate.

Renewal of the war by Spain.

The truce of Treves expired in 1621, and the court of Spain resolved to renew the war for the subjugation of the seven revolted Provinces. James I. accordingly sent 6000 English troops to aid the Dutch cause. These were commanded by Horatio, the younger brother of the Lord-Marshal, Sir Francis Vere[5], who had died, and lies buried in Westminster Abbey under a well-known stately monument. Horatio Vere was a wise and valiant commander, so that under his auspices many noble and aspiring soldiers followed him to the Low Countries to be initiated in the art of war, among

[5] Fuller includes him amongst his English Worthies, and says of him "that his temper was such, that he was like the Caspian Sea, which neither ebbs nor flows, observing a constant tenor; neither elated with success, nor depressed with failure." He was created at the termination of the war Lord Vere, Baron of Tillary. The younger children of Charles I. were placed under the care of his widow, who was a lady of great piety and worth, which has obtained for her this punning epithet:—

"Nobilitas tibi *Vera* fuit: prudentia *Vera*,
Vera tibi pietas."—

others the famous Monk, Duke of Albemarle. The celebrated Count Peter Mansfeld, natural son of Peter Ernest, was also at this time taken into English pay to serve the cause of the Protestant Union in Germany, and marched thither with 12,000 foot and 6000 horse, with the view of recovering the Palatinate for the unfortunate King and Queen of Bohemia. But this expedition was rendered abortive by the defeat of Christian IV., King of Denmark, who commanded for the Protestant Union, at Northeim, in 1626. Among those who accompanied the forces of Mansfeld was Duke Christian of Brunswick, sometimes called Dol-Hartzoch, or "the madman." This Prince having no money to pay his followers, and hearing that there were in the Cathedral at Munster the statues of the Twelve Apostles, in silver, of a prodigious bigness, he neither consulted Mansfeld nor the Prince of Orange, but marched straight to Munster, and entered the Dom-Kirk with all his staff, when he made a speech to the figures to this effect, "that they were idle, and disobedient, in not observing their Master's command to go and teach all nations," and that he had therefore resolved to make them efficient travellers; accordingly he directed them to be broken up and coined into rix dollars. This Prince entertained a great passion for the Queen of Bohemia, whose glove he always carried tied by a ribbon to his helmet, on which was inscribed in plain letters "Alles für Gott und Sie." When Mansfeld marched away, the Duke returned to the Prince of Orange; but he did not remain long with the army, but followed the Princess into England, where, for the honour of her English training, Her Majesty did not encourage his strange passion. He returned to the wars, and in an affair near Fleurus had his arm shot off by a cannon-ball; when he had a false one made of silver, which could discourse music like an instrument. He obtained the metal for this from a silver statue of St. Liberius bigger than life, which had been to that time at the Cathedral Church

of Paderborn. Baron Maurier, from whose work I derive these anecdotes, declares that he had himself seen the silver arm which this unscrupulous leader carried. He now gave up the Queen, and assumed for his device, "Gottes Freund und des Pfaffer Feind," or, "Friend of God, and enemy of priests;" and forthwith acting on this assumed mission, he slew and plundered the clergy without mercy. He was, undoubtedly, a prince of great courage, but of brutal valour; and, one day, seeing a workman repairing a church steeple in Holland, he wantonly fetched him down from the summit with a stone that killed him. This outrageous spirit at length departed this life in the prime of his youth of a burning fever at Wolfenbuttel.

Capture of Breda; death of Maurice.

Marquis Spinola commenced the campaign by the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, with a considerable Spanish army, in 1622, but Maurice was enabled to meet him with the united forces of Mansfeld, Brunswick, and his own, and obliged the Marquis to raise the siege. He afterwards encountered Don Gonsalvo de Cordova, who endeavoured to stay their passage into Germany with a Spanish force near Fleurus; but he also was defeated. After this, however, Prince Maurice could effect nothing considerable, but maintained his ground solely by acting on the defensive during the entire year 1623, in which he could not prevent the capture of Breda, one of the strongest fortifications of the Low Countries, in 1624. The mortification at being unable to relieve this place during a long blockade of six months preyed upon the mind of Prince Maurice, whose health had already begun to give way; and the state of his mind was thought to be seriously affected by remorse for the death of Barneveldt. He had indeed often missed the administrative talents of the Grand Pensionary, who in former campaigns had always provided largely and effectively for the army under his command; and on one occasion, when his ill fortune had brought on some disappointments, Maurice exclaimed, "Quand ce vieux

coquin vivait nous n'étions pas aussi embarassés d'argent et de conseils; mais maintenant nous n'avons ni l'un ni l'autre." An access of fever obliged him to quit the field and withdraw to the Hague, where he died in 1625, at the age of fifty-eight years. It has been the constant burden of all biographers to attribute his sudden and early death to compunction for his most cruel judgment upon the venerable and estimable Barneveldt; and it must be admitted that in that affair he exhibited an unbridled and tyrannical despotism that cannot be extenuated, and must ever very much damage his reputation. Like many great men at the head of armies, and for many years in possession of arbitrary power, he was impatient under any opposition; and although the exertions required to support a tottering cause under difficulties had brought his temper somewhat under restraint, it had never been a good one. Notwithstanding this outrageous crime, he must be acquitted of the desire imputed to him of sacrificing Batavian independence. He had survived the Pensionary eight years, and the Prince had not in this interval made one step towards the desire to turn matters to his own account and make himself King, of which Barneveldt and his party had accused him. This has not been, perhaps, sufficiently borne in mind in the estimate of the Prince's conduct; since after the removal of all obstacles to his ambition he had no sufficient cause to hesitate in his course, if the accusation had been true. For the rest, although he had the reputation of having been naturally good, true, and honest in private life, yet in the article of women he was considered to have been most dissolute:- he never married, but he had several illegitimate children, especially a daughter by a Madame de Micheler, his sometime mistress, and one Monsieur de Beververt, who was a soldier of some distinction.

Character of Prince Maurice.

Prince Maurice of Nassau possessed very great qualities for war, and evinced courage and military

ability upon every occasion of his service. He was indeed considered the most consummate warrior of his day, although inferior in forethought and circumspection to Montecucculi. But the Chevalier Folard regards him as the greatest commander of infantry since the time of the Romans. He had deeply studied the military works of the ancients, and was fond of endeavouring to apply their rules to the various occurrences of his own experience. He discovered inimitable skill in his marches and encampments; and was indefatigable in devising means to render his troops patient of cold, hunger, and fatigue. He particularly excelled in every thing that could add to the efficiency of a soldier, exhibiting great address in collecting subsistence for his armies from countries either barren by nature or exhausted by war. He had the happy talent of calling forth in a moment the ardour and confidence of his followers, and could bring out their greatest exertions at a moment of crisis. He had, moreover, the secret of employing his resources at the smallest possible expense of blood. At the same time he could not tolerate effeminacy in his generals and officers, and thought that they could scarcely be guilty of a greater indiscretion than indulging in a bed, when the men were lying on the hard ground. And this he impressed even more strongly upon his younger officers; for he said that "a subaltern who commands only 20 men, has no one but himself to depend upon; whereas a general has others to watch for him and advise him; and that those who were in the van or on the outposts had the care and safety of the entire army depending on them." The Prince himself was very vigilant and laborious, and had the faculty possessed by so many great commanders of snatching a short sleep as soon as he laid himself down to court it. He was very strong in his constitution, yet sufficiently careful of so invaluable a blessing, by attending to many little comforts in cold seasons, and wet camps; such as

wearing two or even three shirts. He always clothed himself in his campaigns after the same fashion, with woollen clothes of the same stuff, generally of a sort of brown, or mud-colour, sometimes faced with velvet. But when dressed for state, his doublet of silk was slashed with gold stripes; and he wore in his hat a band of diamonds, while the gilt girdle to which his sword was fastened was enriched with jewels. About his neck likewise he carried, according to the fashion of the time, little plaited ruffs, edged with Flemish lace. In appearance he had a plump and ruddy countenance, with a fair beard, which he wore very full and broad. His figure was stout, which made him appear of shorter stature than he really was. His chief diversion, when not occupied with war or politics, was the game of chess, always risking a crown of gold on his game. At this he was either not very skilful, or very unfortunate; for he would sometimes lose nine or ten crowns, though he never played for above one at a time, without ever doubling. He was very much vexed when he was such a loser; which happens at chess even to the greatest players, for the manifest reason, —that it does not depend so much upon chance, and is therefore more the player's own fault if he loses. When he lost, and it happened to be late when he gave over play, and the wax lights were almost burned out, he would get up, pull his hat over his eyes, and retire without bidding his adversary "Good night;" but when he won, he would be very pleasant, perhaps conduct him on his way, or command his pages to light and wait upon him to his lodgings.

His camp soon became the military school of Europe, for he was far above his contemporaries, not only as a mere soldier in the field, but as a deep-thinking man on all the means of war in the cabinet. He was an inventive man also, and spared no cost to put to the test any invention that either his own mind, or that of any other officer, suggested; consequently he enriched the

armoury of the battle-field with many additions and improvements. He studied the science of strengthening a position by breastworks and other simple obstacles to check the advance of an enemy, and devised several new expedients for the belcaguerment of similar obstacles in an enemy; for he was a great master in the science of attack and defence of fortified places, so far as the art had advanced in his days. He also invented a peculiar pontoon for crossing rivers. He would not suffer his troops to wear the straight, stiff boot, adopted in his time from the French, "because," he said, "it took his men sometimes an hour to get booted." But he set the example of wearing boots so large, that a man could almost leap into them; and he thought this enabled them to get quicker into their saddles in moments of urgent haste. All these things proved the Prince to be of an observing mind, and fertile in resources.

Prince Henry Frederick of Orange-Nassau.

He gained three victories *en bataille rangée;* captured thirty-eight fortresses, besides many castles and detached forts; and obliged his antagonists to raise twelve sieges. "No prince ever waged war with more difficulties and greater success. No son more closely imitated Hamlet in his deference to the ghost of a father." It was to extend the objects and to increase the reputation of his great ancestor that he continually acted: and it has been even suggested that his conduct towards Barneveldt was with the endeavour to hold a middle balance between liberty and monarchy; not for his own personal ambition, but to stop the contagion of popular excess. He was succeeded as head of the house of Orange-Nassau, and in the Stadtholderate, by his brother Henry Frederick, a prince of good mien and a very great captain, who secured and established the commonwealth of the Seven United Provinces by his valour, and governing with wisdom and equity consummated the independence of Holland.

AMBROSIO, MARQUIS DE SPINOLA,

A SPANISH GENERAL.

Born 1569. Died 1633.

THIS great warrior, renowned in an age fertile of heroes, belonged to a very ancient Genoese family, which had commanded high consideration for some centuries in that famous republic. When Ferdinand, King of Spain, reunited the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily under his sceptre, and Genoa, Florence, and Venice remained insulated with scanty territories in the midst of this monarchy, their inhabitants looked very much to the King of Spain as the great luminary of the ascendant. Ambrosio, born in 1569, was the son of a Count de Benafro, of which house he was the head. But the family of Spinola[1] was originally from Milan

His parentage and early education.

[1] The family of Spinola are by no means "unknown to fame," for besides the great Marquis and his brother the Admiral, we meet with another Marquis commanding for the King of Spain

and the Montferrat, on the confines of which is situated the small town that gives them the name. A cadet of the house had in a former generation removed to Genoa, and, although ennobled, appears to have employed the family's designation in the vast mercantile speculations in which they accumulated much wealth. After his father's death it would seem that Ambrosio contented himself with the occupations of his commercial calling at home, while his younger brother, Frederick, took military service under King Philip II. The renown obtained by the younger brother in his martial career first roused the elder brother's ambition to seek similar distinction, and with this view he employed his leisure in reading the best military authors, which fed his enthusiasm and exalted his desire for renown; so that when Frederick arrived at his paternal home with the rank and consequence of a vice-admiral of Spain, and with all the applause of glory that great success naturally obtained from his townsmen, Ambrosio could no longer restrain himself, but wrote at once to offer his services to the King of Spain. They were accepted, and he raised at his own cost in a couple of months a corps of 9000 troops, which had either been disbanded from other armies, or were ready to accept service on either side for booty. These were raised after the manner of the old *condottieri*, upon the understanding implied or stated that the expense of raising them should be afterwards reimbursed by the Spanish treasury. With the force accordingly that he had raised, he appeared at their head in Milan in the month of May, 1602.

Spinola's first campaign.

Spinola provided the entire means himself in the first instance for the fitting out of this force, and he occupied himself assiduously with its organization and discipline. His two friends, Justiniani and Dentici, commanded

in the War of the Succession, who defended Messina in 1719; and there was another of the same name, an admiral, who commanded the Spanish fleet off the Havannah in 1749.

the two brigades of which the army consisted. He evinced the solidity of his understanding by the care which distinguished these troops from all other condottieri, especially in respect to regularity of pay, which he rightly deemed to be the foundation of all discipline, but which had been too fatally departed from in the organization of other armies at this period. He probably was indebted to commercial friendship and connexions for the ability to pay such a force, but, as we shall see in the sequel, it was very much on this circumstance that he depended for military success, and that it was to the regularity that he instilled into the maintenance of his little army that he was very much indebted for his early renown. The Spanish cause in the Netherlands had greatly waned before Prince Maurice of Nassau when Ambrosio de Spinola reached the royal camp. Time had elapsed, for he had had a considerable distance to march with his new levies before he could reach this destination out of Italy. He took his way across the Alps and through Switzerland until he attained the province of Franche Comté, and thence, passing through Lorraine and the Duchy of Luxemburg, he attained the camp of the Archduke Albert, Viceroy of the Netherlands, in June, 1603. The siege of Ostend had been already two years in progress, and Maurice, having failed to raise it, had made an inroad into Brabant, with a view of making a diversion, after which he had sat down with his army before Grave. The two leaders soon came in presence, for Spinola endeavoured to open the campaign by an attempt to break through the Dutch lines; but this *début* to his military career was unsuccessful.

Siege of Ostend.

This *contretems* at the first start was especially untoward, because the Spanish army in the Netherlands had at the moment lost all heart in their cause, by reason of their long continuance of ill success, and from want of regularity of pay: a generally lax discipline had accordingly been induced, under which

many had so far forgot their honour, as in the very presence of the enemy to break out into open revolt, in which many thousands of the privates had abandoned their colours. It was therefore a bitter disappointment to the Viceroy, that one who had evinced so much ability, and had acquired so just a reputation by his march from Italy, should have in the first encounter succumbed to Prince Maurice. The opportunity, however, proved to be one especially calculated to test the value of the new general's character. In spite of the dangerous infection of mutinous bodies, Spinola's army remained faithful to their colours. The help that he brought the Archduke by this example was most opportune, and he was forthwith appointed to the command of the tainted royal army. He here evinced a degree of resolution that was perfectly new to these troops. He enforced the most rigid discipline, and in spite of the murmurs of the old generals who were now first placed under his command, and who had hitherto opposed themselves to every measure of amelioration and reform, he showed a vigour which at first, instead of moving them, increased the opposition to his authority. He dismissed 200 discontented officers at the first swoop, discovered that the grievance at bottom of the whole was arrears of pay, and in the short space of eight days he settled the whole of the arrears; when discipline and order soon followed these honest, bold, and judicious proceedings.

Spinola appointed to the chief command of the Spanish army of the Netherlands.

It was just at this juncture that his brother Frederick met with his death near Sluys, in the endeavour to chase the Dutch fleet from the sea-board of Ostend. The new King, Philip III., was so well satisfied with the report made to him of the Marquis's prudent and successful suppression of the mutiny, that he offered him the post vacant by his brother's death, of Grand-Admiral of Spain; but Spinola had the good sense to decline this honourable offer, from a sense of his insufficiency to fulfil it efficiently; and the King

was so struck with the General's modesty, that he nominated him to the chief command of his army in the Netherlands, above Don Francis Mendoza, Admiral of Arragon, under whom he had hitherto served. He resolved as his first measure to reduce Ostend, against which the Spanish forces had been engaged for nearly two years. With a view of being more in measure to succeed, he raised some new regiments, appointing probably some of the dismissed officers, after their repentance, to the principal ranks; and in those days there were always disbanded mercenaries, that a man with money in his hand could get together. He went down to reconnoitre the fortress, and soon evinced the vigorous element of his character. The outlying posts of the besieged were driven in, and the artillery brought nearer to the walls of the beleaguered town; the batteries were armed with fresh guns, and the trenches were repaired and shaped anew. He caused new chaussées to be constructed to pass across the inundations, and he determined to advance by the mine as well as by the breach. By these combined means, and by the fire he opened upon the body of the place, the ramparts soon became untenable; and preparations were made to advance to the assault. But the defenders had become tired of defensive warfare, which has in truth a depressing effect upon men's minds generally. They had been all driven in, and huddled together amidst ruins and unsafe buildings, and there seemed nothing left worth fighting for, while the expense of maintaining Ostend as a fortress was beyond all reason. It was determined therefore that they should endeavour to make such terms as their long and most glorious opposition justified them in demanding, and which a new general, like Spinola, intent on making his services of value, was content to grant. It was the 14th September, 1604, when 4000 Dutch surrendered the walls of Ostend, and marched "with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of war" through the besieging

forces to join Maurice of Nassau, who had just obtained possession of Sluys. This garrison had changed their governors four times during the siege of four years and sixty-four days—two of whom had been killed, one severely wounded, and the survivor signed the capitulation with only one arm—they had been shut up within the walls, at an expense of 200,000 francs per month, and 18,000 of their gallant brethren had succumbed from the casualties of war and disease. But the Spaniards were thought to have exhausted their treasures, in the endeavour to possess it, to the extent of two millions, and of threescore thousand men. The smock of the Archduchess Isabel was now sent to the dyer, and an immortality given to a new hue of those of the rainbow, while Marquis Spinola received the Archduke Albert in the midst of the smoking devastation, and formally delivered into his hands the keys of the captured fortress.

The surrender of Ostend. Spinola receives the order of the Golden Fleece.

This achievement conferred so great a renown on the General, that the King of Spain desired to make his acquaintance, and to confer upon him with his own hand the guerdon he designed to bestow. Spinola therefore repaired to Madrid at the commencement of 1605, and was duly invested with the order of the Golden Fleece, and created Conde de Volgéra, and a grandee of Spain. He had very nearly fallen into the hands of some of the free corps, who thronged every highway of France at this period; but, nevertheless, he determined, after settling with the Spanish Government the necessary business that the important command to which he was ordered to return imposed upon him, to accept the invitation of Henry IV. to pay him a visit at the French capital. The artful monarch, who, under the guise of great merriment and cheerfulness, had some knowledge of kingcraft, desired to learn what was the plan for the next campaign; and while receiving the Spanish general with the greatest honour, sounded him on this point. It was of course well

known that France was the ally of Holland, and His Majesty therefore went warily to work, and took for granted that Spinola would impose upon him as information the direct contrary to the plan projected. But, in the frankness of the Marquis's character, he stated openly his intentions, which were forthwith communicated to Holland as the certain evidence of what was not to be credited; so that the King, when he afterwards found out his mistake, remarked, "Les autres trompent en mentant, mais celui-ci trompe en disant vrai."

Spinola contends with Prince Maurice for the mastery.

The army under the command of Spinola in 1605 consisted of 40,000 excellent troops, and with these he forthwith took the field against Prince Maurice. He had given his counsel in Spain that the revolted Provinces were not to be attacked amidst their water defences; for that the country was easily rendered inaccessible, except through very strong works of attack, that would involve great delays and loss of life; but that by advancing on the side of Guelderland, the country was of a very different character, and of easier access. Maurice was, however, quite prepared to oppose his adversary on either line, and both leaders evinced during the years 1606, 1607, and 1608, military resources quite new to the art of war in previous centuries, but which were not productive of great events. The Stadtholder adopted a policy purely defensive, so as to avoid any thing that might produce a crisis; and Spinola, with a noble and soldierly spirit, made it the object of his command to bridle the disorders of his *condottieri*, and to adopt a course quite contrary to that pursued by the adventurers who brought their hired swords at the cost of committing every enormity on the unhappy peasantry amongst whom they passed, either as friends or enemies. At length, in 1609, the Marquis received the commands of his Court to propose an accommodation to the revolted Provinces. The class of negotiators who at first undertook to settle the basis of a treaty,

was not at all suited to so delicate an undertaking. The simple boors of the marsh lands of Holland, though guided by the ability of such men as Barneveldt and Grotius, were as wide as the poles asunder from the refined, artful, and experienced diplomacy of Spain, and matters proceeded slowly. But when Maurice and Spinola at length met at the Hague, the Prince, descending from his carriage, courteously handed his great rival into it, when the two great antagonists in a single hour settled all the matters in dispute, in a manner that Castilian pride and democratic importunity would never have arrived at. The truce of Treves was thus concluded—1610.

Spinola invades Bohemia: address to his troops.

During the continuance of this truce, Spinola in vain endeavoured to obtain from the Spanish Government the remuneration of the expenses of maintaining his troops, which pressed heavily on his private resources. But in the midst of these negotiations, which carried him more than once backwards and forwards to Madrid and Brussels, both King Philip III. and the Viceroy, the Archduke Albert, died. The Archduchess Isabel, however, entreated Spinola to remain in the command of the Spanish army; for the Emperor Ferdinand had urged on her an application for some assistance in his war against the troops of the Protestant Union in Germany; and accordingly, in August, 1620, Spinola crossed the Rhine with an army of nearly 30,000 men, and entered the dominions of the unfortunate King of Bohemia. I derive from a manuscript letter in the Bodleian Library the following specimen of the Spanish style of eloquence, and the nature of the orders of the day of the period addressed to their troops. It is styled, "Oration made by Monsieur Spinola to his army when he brake the bridge of boats over the Rhine near the confines of the Palatinate.—'Jactamur (?) et alea.—And as Julius Cæsar when he passed the river in Italy set up his resolution to put up for the Roman Empire or to die under the attempt; so, though there be great

difference in the enterprise and far more in the person, yet I will with your help and the sword, make my passage through this country before us, and possess it; and, as I shall receive commandment from my King to join with the Imperial army in a contest which I undertake for the Catholic religion, and for the just rights of the Emperor, you shall not want for any thing, having, as ye well know, brought sufficient treasure with me. And for a testimony of my love to you, and of my confidence in you, I will expressly give order that you have two months' pay beforehand, which shall be paid unto you before you pass any further upon my service. We are seven and twenty thousand men at arms by muster; better men the world cannot afford. Of these, above three-fourths have met the enemy in the face. All are valiant and loyal, and sithence the eye of all the Christian world and more is upon us, let us, for God's sake and our own, effect things worthy of so valorous an army. So I commend you all and our endeavours to the affection of the Almighty.'"

The siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

But Spinola was shortly summoned back again towards the Netherlands, owing to the increased importance assumed by the dispute touching the succession to the Duchy of Cleves, and to the preparations making by Holland against the termination of the ten years' truce in 1621. In the first months of the new year (1622), however, Spinola again took the field against Prince Maurice, and obtained Reede by storm and Juliers by capitulation, and in the following October he sat down before Bergen-op-Zoom. The Stadtholder, however, was at the moment strong enough in force to resist this operation, and he obliged the Marquis to raise the siege, and to retire to take up his winter quarters about Antwerp. After having raised the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, Maurice, Prince of Orange, laid a plan for the surprise of Antwerp; but heaven and the winds were opposed to his design. The undertaking was nevertheless well laid, and he promised to himself a happy

issue. But it will tend to show the burden of his mind when he said, "he had given good order for every thing, and God alone hindered its success."

Capture of Breda.

When the reports of these matters reached Philip IV. in Spain, he was disposed to entertain some prejudice against his General, and took on himself to give his own directions for the war, without consulting Spinola. His Majesty directed that Breda should be besieged; and when it was represented that it was needful to make many preparations for an operation of that magnitude, the King sat down and wrote this laconic order to his General;—"Marquis, take Breda" —"Yo—El Rey." In obedience to this imperative command, Spinola suddenly invested that place on the 18th of August, 1624, greatly to the astonishment of the garrison, and not a little to the surprise of Maurice, who endeavoured to avert the operation by manœuvring. But Spinola completely foiled the Prince in the field, and besieged Breda in spite of all the Dutch Stadtholder could do to prevent it, and the siege of it has ever been regarded as his most illustrious action. Breda capitulated to Spinola on the 5th of June, 1625. This success added immensely to his military reputation, and not a little gratified his Sovereign, who had insisted upon it. But it did not obtain for him from the Spanish treasury the repayments he continually urged, and he eventually became so troublesome from his importunity, that the Spanish Government, notwithstanding his *renommée*, recalled him from the command of the Spanish army in 1627.

Spinola recalled. Visits the siege of Rochelle.

The Marquis was not over-pleased with this proceeding, which he deemed to be an intrigue of the Court against him, and therefore repaired to Madrid to remonstrate against it. But on his way he was tempted to turn aside to the siege of Rochelle, then besieged by Louis XIII. in person. The King received Spinola with much distinction, and conducted him through the French lines, on which occasion he made the remark,

which was probably suggested by the interference with his plans in the field by the feeble Philip IV., "La présence de V. M. rend la noblesse Française infatigable et invincible: j'ai le chagrin de n'avoir jamais eu Le Roi mon maître pour témoin de ce que j'ai fait pour son service." Cardinal Richelieu, who was also present with the French army, consulted him confidentially on the best means of bringing the siege to an early conclusion; and Spinola gave his opinions in the openness of his character freely, and to the best of his judgment. But, when he reached Madrid, the Spanish Minister, Olivarez, would have sent him to Rochelle with a considerable force to the aid of the besieged, when he refused the task, saying, "I have both witnessed in person the works of the besiegers by the King himself, and advised with the Minister how the works might best be carried on; so that it would be impossible for me in honour to undertake such a command."

The siege of Casal. Spinola's death.

In 1629, Spain was engaged in a war in Italy to obtain some objects for the Duke of Savoy in opposition to France, and Marquis Spinola was sent by Philip IV. against an army commanded by the Duke de Nevers. He was not at all satisfied on his arrival at the seat of war with the condition of the army he was sent to command, or with the amount of means placed at his disposal; nevertheless, he undertook towards the close of the year the siege of Casal. This brought Louis XIII. into the field in person, with an increase of force; and Spinola demanded reinforcements to oppose him. Awaiting these, he was obliged to raise the siege he had undertaken, and in the spirit of his genius occupied himself with the task of remodelling the *materiel* of his army; so that before the end of the year, when Marshal Bassompierre had succeeded to the command of the French forces, he again sat down before Casal, and obtained possession of the town, but could not succeed against the citadel, where

M. de Thoiras braved all his endeavours, while his enemies at the Spanish Court opposed all his applications for increased resources. He considered it of great importance to terminate the campaign by some success before the French King could return back to Italy, and when this was denied him, he said in his vexation "that he believed he was sent into his own Italy for the destruction of the reputation he had achieved elsewhere." He nevertheless persevered, and was enabled to keep the field for Spain by the ability of his measures, so that at length, on the 6th of April, 1631, he succeeded in entering into terms with M. de Thoiras, and in obtaining possession of the citadel of Casal, which was followed by the peace of Cherasco.

Vexed and disappointed, however, by the bitterness and increasing hostility of the Court of Spain, Spinola remained in Italy, and died of a broken heart at Castel Nuovo de Scrivia, 25th of September following, in great agitation grasping the King's letters in his hand, and exclaiming day and night, "M'hanno levato honore. Me han quittado la honra." "They have filched away my honour[2]." The Spaniards had indeed behaved to him with great ingratitude. They had refused to the last to defray the debts which he had incurred

[2] These dying words of Spinola are recorded in a curious pamphlet in the British Museum, entitled "Les Entretiens des Champs Elysées, MDCXXXI." The Marquis is represented as falling foul, in descending to the Shades, with the Duke of Savoy, whom he abuses roundly for withholding support from him in the siege of Casal; and this produces *such a row* that the "infernal" police are about to apprehend the Marquis, and take him before Rhadamanthus for punishment, only that he pleads that he is an Italian, and not one of the Spaniards who are in general so *uppish*. The confusion brings forward all the late arrivals in the place,—Henry IV., the Duke of Alva, the Duke of Parma, and other Cardinals and officers, and they discuss at some length the politics of Europe. Henry IV. calls Spinola by the name of *Le Strigio*, which may have been his *pet name* among his comrades when commanding in the flesh; for most generals receive a similar compliment from their soldiers.

for the support of the army, and had even sequestered some estates he had purchased: so that his son was seriously injured in his property, and even the just reputation of the hero had been assailed by the proud Castilians because he was a foreigner.

Spinola's character.

Marquis Ambrosio de Spinola was, doubtless, one of the ablest generals of his time, not even inferior to his great adversary, Maurice of Nassau. As a military administrator he had in those days no rival. By nature and education a man of accounts, he was the acme of all order, and severe in his regularity in every thing. It was the confidence entertained by his soldiery in the certainty of regular payments that attached them to him the more surely at a time when mercenaries formed the staple of all armies, who understood as part of their engagement that *their remuneration was*

> "the simple plan—
> That they should get who had the power,
> And they should keep who can."

But there was nothing mean in Spinola's organization, for he evinced during his whole career a generosity that was very remarkable, and which was often extended towards his enemies as well as friends, if he deemed them deserving of it—a course of conduct which even the Tillys and Wallensteins were incapable of appreciating. He was not only a lover and practiser of order in his payments, but also of his time, of which, having, of course, a great deal to do, he was a most careful dispenser; so that on hearing one day of one who had died from the want of something to do, he exclaimed, "Alas! that would be enough to kill the stoutest general of us all: for although idleness has been placed by some visionary writers among the beatitudes of heaven, I should rather be disposed to number it among the torments of hell." He was, however, deficient in one very useful quality for a military leader,—he lacked calmness. He is said to

have been lean in figure, yet a celebrated picture of him by Rubens makes him stout. He is spoken of as dry and choleric in disposition, and one who could never sleep day or night if he had any urgent business on his spirits. He began his career of arms when he had passed the age of thirty; and when he undertook the command of armies his knowledge of the art of war had been entirely obtained from books. Naturally a man of bravery and resolution, his commercial habits had inspired a principle of rule that engendered order, and his extensive reading gave him the knowledge of the resources that had been employed by those who had gone before him, so that he appeared in the field ready equipped for war, as if ready armed, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter. Spinola is almost the last of the great Spanish commanders, who up to this period have obtained renown in military history. Since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the military performances of the Spanish armies have very much fallen in professional repute. Spinola was hardly sufficiently valued by his own Sovereigns, Philip III. and IV., but was very highly esteemed by Henry IV., Louis XIII., and by the Viceroy of the Netherlands, as well as by his great opponent, Maurice of Nassau. His first and greatest act, the capture of Ostend, placed him high amongst those who had signalized themselves in such operations, because that place had stubbornly resisted all the great resources of Spain for a period that exceeds the duration of almost every other siege on record[3].

[3] The reputation of Spinola has been not inelegantly delineated by a poet of his own time.

"Arma amens petit, armatis trepida undique cingi
Castra putat Francosque suo cum rege ruentes
Ægrâ mente videt; patriamque elatus in urbem
Post tot devictos populos, tot bella, tot hostes,
Oppida tot, tot castra, urbesque, arcesque subactas,
Vincitur à fato invictus, vitæque supremam
Hic ubi primam hausit, clausit Dux Spinola lucem."

Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon; Biographie Universelle; Russell's Modern Europe.

ERNEST, COUNT MANSFELD,

A GERMAN GENERAL.

Born 1585. Died 1626.

THE family of Mansfeld was of very high antiquity in the Duchy of Magdeburg, and one of the family (who was afterwards slain in battle) had been ennobled for his bravery by the Emperor Henry V., in the beginning of the twelfth century. His descendant, Peter Ernest, was an able soldier and servant of the Emperor Charles V., whom he accompanied on his expedition into Africa; and in after years he obtained such consideration from his Sovereign, as for a short time after the death of the Duke of Parma to be appointed Governor-General of the Netherlands. He was subsequently raised to the dignity of a Prince of the Empire, which honour descended to his legitimate son, who died soon after his father; when this event terminated the princely house. The subject of this memoir was born to the Prince

Birth, parentage, and early education.

Mansfeld from a lady of Malines in 1585, and was named Ernest, not after his putative father, but, for some cause or other, from the Archduke Ernest, a brother of the Emperor. He was brought up at Brussels in the religion of his mother; but highly important to every man's prosperity or adversity as distinctions of religion were, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and deeply as they coloured a man's career, it is lamentable to think how loosely principles of faith and practice sat on men of the highest position in those days, although they appeared ready at all times to risk their life-blood in constant danger in the field as in the city, for the sake of what they termed their "religion." Peter Ernest, the putative father, was believed to have imbibed the principles of the Reformation, but had in policy remained a Papist; while Ernest, the illegitimate son, cast off the religion of his childhood and became a Protestant.

Sides with the Elector Palatine.

The young Mansfeld made his first campaigns in the service of the Emperor before Juliers, and in Alsace, and subsequently acquired distinction in the wars of the Netherlands under Spinola, and in Hungary under the banner of the Archduke Leopold; and he was legitimated by the Emperor Rudolph II. for his bravery in the field. On the death of his father, or brother, or both, which terminated the legitimate line of Mansfeld, he was refused the grant of his paternal possessions; contrary, as it has been alleged, to the Imperial promise: and from that moment he repudiated his allegiance to the Emperor, and accepted service under the Duke of Savoy as a mercenary adventurer, ready to carry the baton of command to any one. In 1610, the Duke gave him his dismission from the service of Savoy, when he created him Marquis of Castel-Nuovo. Mansfeld did not, however, permit his bitter anger against the Emperor to cool by distance, but as soon as the Protestant Union of Germany required a leader to oppose the Imperial troops, he accepted the post of Generalissimo, and suddenly and

quite unexpectedly appeared in Bohemia at the head of 14,000 mercenaries, to uphold the new and rickety throne of Frederick, the Elector Palatine. By what motives he was actuated at this very earliest movement of the Thirty Years' War is not very certain; the ruin and overthrow of the unfortunate King of Bohemia was consummated on the Weissenfels at the first onset, yet Mansfeld remained passive in his camp at Pilsen during its consummation, leaving his royal master to fly and beg his bread. The reason assigned was said to be that Mansfeld would not serve under the Princes of Anhalt and Hohenlohen. At all events, left without assistance after the battle of Prague by the unfortunate Elector King (to whose service he had devoted himself), and uncertain whether Frederick would thank him for his perseverance or otherwise, he moved his army into the town of Pilsen, and there "on his own hook" defied the whole power of the Emperor for some time.

The Elector of Bavaria sides with the Emperor.

The state of the contest at this period was this:— The Estates of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia—all hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg—actuated by the principles of the Reformed religion, had confederated against their Sovereign Ferdinand, who had announced on his accession to the empire, in 1617, that the programme of his policy was,—"Better to rule over a desert than a country full of heretics," and who had made vows both at Loretto and Rome to his generalissima, the Holy Virgin, to extend her worship even at the risk of his crown and his life. John George, the Elector of Saxony, was placed at the head of the German Protestants; on the other hand, the Elector of Bavaria sided with the Emperor, and brought an army to his aid, commanded by the celebrated Tilly. Ferdinand, unable to obtain troops from his hereditary dominions, who were in arms against him, raised troops in Italy, Spain, and the remote extremities of the empire, and placed one army under the command of Dampierre, a

Frenchman, and another under a Spaniard, an adventurer of the name of Boucquoi. The former was slain early in the war at Presburg, but the latter encountered Mansfeld at Pilsen, who for some time held out against the Imperialist General, until Mansfeld's army, mutinying for want of pay, would have sold him to the enemy, but that he saw the strait to which he was reduced in time, and fled. Undismayed by this issue, he collected the disbanded troops of the Union, and in a short time assembled a new army of 20,000 men under his banners, with which he entered the Upper Palatinate. The Duke of Bavaria followed him thither so pertinaciously, that he was compelled to retire into the Lower Palatinate, where the Bavarian General, Tilly, already awaited him. But eluding further pursuit from both antagonists by a successful stratagem, he suddenly fell upon the church lands near the Rhine, and inflicted upon them unheard-of severities. Being deserted by those who had engaged him in the service, or driven by the negligence of the fugitive Protestant princes to every kind of difficulty in supplying the necessities of a large army, he was compelled to maintain his troops by such universal pillage as acquired for him the name of the Attila of Christianity.

Mansfeld protects the King of Bohemia.

The swarm that had alighted on their possessions induced the Sovereign Bishops to implore the presence of the Spanish General Corduba, who had succeeded to the command of the Netherlands army; and he, hastily raising the siege of Frankenthal, marched across the Rhine; when Mansfeld, unable to cope with such a force, led his needy followers into Alsace, to seek for shelter and subsistence: where, by wasting the country into frightful deserts, and forcing the cities to purchase an exemption from pillage by enormous contributions, he became sufficiently reinforced to take the field again, and to afford shelter to the unfortunate Frederick, King of Bohemia, to whose territory, in the Lower Palatinate, he now marched to give protection. Tilly accordingly came against him, and en-

gaged him at Wisloch and Mingelsheim in a murderous action, in which he was joined by the mercenaries of Christian, Duke of Brunswick, and administrator of Halberstadt. Amidst this posse of reckless adventurers a band gathered around the wretched Frederick, which acknowledged him indeed as Lord, and dignified itself by his name, but yielded him neither power to oppose to the Emperor, whom he had so desperately offended, nor to obtain for him any terms. At length, through the intervention of his father-in-law, James I. of England, he was brought to seek the Imperial clemency, and to dismiss Mansfeld and Duke Christian from his service, while the unfortunate Prince himself retired into Holland to await Ferdinand's mercy, who however gave him no hope that the Palatinate should ever again be restored to his dominion, for he had already disposed of it in favour of the Duke of Bavaria.

Is dismissed from his command.

Both Mansfeld and Duke Christian were now at a loss for some new master. The cause of the Palatinate had never affected them in the slightest degree, for it was nothing to a mercenary whom he served, and accordingly their dismissal did not disarm them. War was the object of such adventurers, and it was a matter of perfect indifference to them in whose cause it was waged. After some vain attempts on the part of Mansfeld to be received into the Emperor's service, Ferdinand let loose against him the full outburst of his anger, and on the 20th of February, 1621, placed him under the ban of the Empire, and set a price upon his head. He suffered, however, in good company; for by the same decree 738 of the Protestant German nobility were deprived of their estates; the value of which spoliations was estimated at forty millions of thalers.

A price is set upon his head.

Mansfeld, though lying under the ban of the Empire, without country, estates, or money, had already rendered his name so famous by his spirit and enterprise, and by his singular faculty of recovering himself after the most signal reverses—recruiting new armies, and

Is employed by the Dutch against Spinola.

moving with the rapidity of lightning from province to province, and kingdom to kingdom—that he found himself and his services soon coveted by the Protestants of every State. The French Huguenots, under the Duke de Bouillon, first offered to take him into pay, and he commenced his march into Lorraine to join him. But Bouillon was persuaded to abandon the Protestant cause, and to make his terms with Louis XIII. In this emergency Mansfeld came across a Spanish army under Gonzalez, and a Royalist French army under the Duke de Nevers, with whom he fought a bloody and indecisive battle, which, however, did not check him from pursuing his march through Champagne, where the excesses of his troops struck terror even into the very heart of France. On reaching Fleurus he met another Spanish army, which attempted to stop him; but after a bloody engagement he continued his way into the Netherlands, where the Dutch were willing to purchase his services, to be employed against Spinola, who, at the end of 1622, after the expiration of the Truce of Treves, severely pressed the army of Prince Maurice. He arrived in good time to oblige the Spanish General to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, which the latter had undertaken, and to retire to Antwerp. Mansfeld carried his troops to recruit themselves for new enterprises in the fertile province of East Friesland, until the Dutch became weary of such unwelcome help. Mansfeld, in the mean while, availed himself of the proximity of England, either through an invitation or upon the chance of finding James I. disposed to engage him, and crossing over from Holland was received in London with general acclamation and great favour as a distinguished Protestant leader.

Encounters Wallenstein and Tilly, and is defeated.

Mansfeld was immediately taken into English pay, and was entrusted with the command of reinforcements, with which he was to join the League framed in the Circle of Lower Saxony, for the restoration of the

Palatinate to the King's son-in-law. Christian IV. of Denmark was himself, as Duke of Holstein, a Prince of Germany, and was declared chief of the new Union. As soon as the terms were concluded, Mansfeld re-crossed to rejoin his troops in Friesland; but he was wrecked in crossing the sea, and saved in person with great difficulty, while sixty-six of his companions and followers perished. Maximilian of Bavaria now conducted the campaign against Mansfeld as executor of the Imperial ban; and his General, Count Tilly, marching along the left bank of the Weser, advanced against the King of Denmark as far as Minden. Christian spread his forces over the territories of Brunswick, and both armies remained for some time in presence; the latter probably expecting the arrival of Mansfeld, and the former the army which had recently taken the field under Wallenstein. This latter general had orders to unite with Tilly, but, being jealous of his fame, he showed no disposition to share with him the laurels of the campaign, and resolved to act independently of him. He accordingly took post at Dessau. Mansfeld marched at once against him upon the Elbe, and prevented the junction of Wallenstein with Tilly, or any combined attack upon the King of Denmark. With extraordinary rashness, however, the intrepid Mansfeld advanced to the very bridge of Dessau, and began to intrench himself in presence of the Imperial army. Wallenstein and Tilly would not tolerate such insult, but fell upon him from opposite sides, and he was obliged to yield to superior forces, and to abandon his post with the loss of 3000 killed and many wounded and scattered.

Invades Silesia, and is defeated. His death.

After this defeat Mansfeld withdrew into Brandenburg, where he soon reinforced his army, and collected some 24,000 German Evangelians, including about 3000 Scots and Danes, who had escaped from former discomfitures; and with these troops he suddenly appeared in Silesia. As the hereditary dominions of the Emperor were at this time entirely defenceless, Wallenstein

received immediate orders to suspend his operations against the King of Denmark, and, if possible, to drive Mansfeld out of Silesia. He forthwith set himself in pursuit; but his adversary made his way, amidst countless difficulties, from Silesia into Hungary and Transylvania, where he hoped to derive assistance from Bethlem Gabor, the Protestant chief of those parts, who had recently broken his truce with the Emperor. But he found himself not at all welcomed by the barbarian chief, for this versatile ally had again made a hasty peace with Ferdinand, and deserted the Protestant cause. Mansfeld therefore found that he had drawn upon himself the whole strength of the Imperial armies, in place of the diversion he intended to make in favour of the Protestant Union. Arrived on the banks of the Waag therefore, between Leopoldstadt and Komorn, he had no choice but to offer battle to Wallenstein, and when victory turned against him he found himself unable to maintain and keep together the weak remnant of his troops in the presence of so many enemies, so that he sold his cannon and baggage train; and, being altogether abandoned by his whole army, he was forced to flee from the field, and seek his safety by blind paths across the mountains. With a few followers he reached the borders of Italy in November, 1626, when, worn out by fatigue and disappointment, he took to his bed at Zara, on the confines of Bosnia and Dalmatia, and, as is recorded, "expired standing upright in his armour." The story is, that, finding he was likely to die, he had himself attired in his richest panoply, and, leaning for support on two of his adjutants, he drew his sword, and advanced to meet the dread antagonist to whom he was about to succumb. The action may appear more Pagan than Christian either to Protestant or Catholic (to both of which denominations Mansfeld had in turn belonged, but to neither of which he was perhaps cordially attached). There is something grand, however, in the act, which bespoke an indomitable

bravery, and he might have apostrophized the King of Terrors somewhat after this manner:

> "Death! thou fell tyrant, hast no fears for me:
> A hero's fame is immortality;"

or, as has been more tersely expressed in a family motto:

> "Non moritur cujus fama vivit."

He died in the forty-first year of his age, and lies buried in the Cathedral of Spalatro.

His personal appearance and character.

Count Mansfeld was a diminutive, sickly-looking, deformed man, but he possessed the soul of a true hero. Constantly persecuted by fortune, he was to the last superior to his fate. There never was a leader in the field who had been more inured to hardships and watchings, hunger and cold; and he merits immortality, for he had always proved himself superior to adversity. Such a military career as his required the full strength of a powerful constitution, for he sunk exhausted at an age at which few modern generals attain their first commands. He was a man bold in council, fearless in danger, fertile in resources, resolute, and never shrinking even under the most adverse circumstances. He raised armies with incredible rapidity, and ravaged territories for their maintenance with ruthless severity and unconscionable rigour. The terror of his name spread far and wide; and when he entered Champagne, the inhabitants fled from their homes, as far as Orleans and the Valley of the Loire, for very dread, and were content to abandon their property to avoid a conflagration that they knew was unquenchable and destructive. He obtained at Paris the surname of "Sanguinario," or "Bloody bones;" and, like that of many dreaded conquerors, the name was long employed to frighten children into obedience even after the Thirty Years' War had ended.

To the qualities of a warrior Mansfeld united the address of a very successful negotiator. Indeed his talent for persuasion was such, that with a natural eloquence he knew how to insinuate himself into the con-

fidence and heart of those whom he most desired to win over to his cause. He was so skilful a diplomatist, that his many bitter detractors were compelled to yield him this merit. Indeed it was dangerous to argue with a man whose tongue was as prompt as his sword, who had persuasiveness as well as courage, and who made his rule of action "tam Marte quam Mercurio." He is said to have had the bump of acquisitiveness largely developed, and to have seized freely; but to have been so prodigal of wealth as to squander it readily on gifts, pleasures, or necessities; so that he had neither lands nor money at the time of his death. It was said of him that he was "bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio," —that is, that he could render the highest services, but made those who employed him pay dearly for them.

His military qualifications.

Count Mansfeld is regarded as one of the greatest generals of the seventeenth century; but he was too reckless of gain to have been a good disciplinarian: and his strategy was rather the effect of experience than of study. As a tactician, he is said to "have been the first to employ dragoons[1] in warfare;" by which I suppose it may be understood that he was the first to utilize a horse soldier for purposes beyond the mere dash of a charge, by applying him more advantageously for outposts and intelligence. If this be so, he made a great advance in war tactics, since there is scarcely any thing that can be rendered more beneficial to the march, either in advance or retreat, than a well-organized system of vedettes and patrols, which consti-

[1] The term "Dragoon" was at the "introduction" often interchanged for the name of Horse Musketeers. They were the first description of horse that carried a matchlock instead of a pike. They were at the commencement armed with ordinary fire-arms and short swords, with hatchets, that they might act occasionally as pioneers. They were employed especially as a protection against the Croats, who, like the Cossacks of our own times, were very great annoyances to the march of regular troops, and dragoons were employed to escort convoys, and were drilled to act on foot as well as on horseback.

tute the eyes and ears of an army. However, there are other military writers who give Mansfeld the credit of establishing the force that was known long afterwards by the name of "Voltigeur[2]:" "Qui pedites cum bombardis majoribus imposuit equis, ut sic celeritatem equi-

[2] VOLTIGEUR. As Mansfeld has received very universally the credit of having "introduced dragoons" in war, it may not be an unfitting place and opportunity to suggest a new class of cavalry, which I will call "voltigeurs," although I admit they are not at all identical with the horse-infantry-man, so called by the French. It may appear almost beyond the privilege of a veteran, who has been for so many years estranged from the battle-field as I have been, to ask the attention of his brother officers of the present day to the consideration of a new arm of service, but I will nevertheless without further phrase improvise my idea.

Voltigeurs, as formerly used, are not, I believe, now known in any Continental army, and have never been introduced into our own. But experience in outpost warfare has not been extended since Waterloo, and remains still with the old soldiers of Europe, or with the Federals and Confederates of the other hemisphere, for the campaign of the Crimea of a year and a day never went much beyond the business of a siege; and even the French-Italian and German-Danish wars have not included much marching and manœuvring, or "la petite guerre." The mighty change in the implements of war, which must materially affect the attack and defence of places, cannot fail likewise to influence the meet of armies. The old skirmisher must be considerably altered; yet he was, as it were, the finger of war, whose sensitive touch showed where to direct the blow: now, he will become part of the muscular action that gives it. A rifle that can carry a ball upwards of 1000 yards with a perfect certainty, must tell upon every kind of formation—and this change should be well considered and provided for beforehand.

I propose a cavalry regiment that should consist of twice as many men as horses—say 1000 men to 500 horses—the rider a lightsome, hardy, active little fellow, who should be as much at home with a horse as a Pampas-man. As he could not be calculated on for close contest, he should be armed only with the best and lightest rifle and revolver; but as he might have also to defend himself on foot from the lance or the bayonet, he might carry a small sword of no great weight, but sufficient to ward a thrust. He should bear his ammunition round a waist-belt or on a bandolier—should be dressed in the best form of sportsman-habiliments, with a skull-cap like that of the police. The men's packs should be carried two together on the crupper-pad, unless

tum et vim peditum ingeniosa hæc mixtura in iisdem consequeretur." But this mixed horse and foot man never did much service in battle; and could scarcely have done any good in the days of pike and matchlock. Mansfeld was, from the condition of his birth, a man of vast aspirations, which, combined with a natural genius, led him to form high projects, such as we may see in his career. He began by serving the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, suddenly came down upon the States of the Rhine, and, when unceremoniously dismissed from the Palatinate, carried his army first to assist the Huguenots of France; and, when disappointed in that service, moved rapidly to the assistance of the Dutch. Like many of his contemporaries, he lost armies as quickly as he raised them [3].

when the horse carried double, at which time they should be strapped on the men's backs.

At the proper time the men thus mounted should be carried briskly to the front, and as near to the enemy's formations as possible, when the hindmost should dismount and open fire —the horsemen retiring out of fire, but near enough to take the men on their saddles or protect them from the approach of cavalry. It is probable that such an irruption, which would bring a deadly fire to bear upon the foe, would be so annoying and intolerable, that, as in the olden time, under the effect of round-shot and grape, they would be obliged to move off the field; and then imagine the effect of these voltigeurs upon the flanks and rear of a retiring column! They would be as moving rifle-pits, and would immensely disturb every operation.

Such troops might also be usefully employed for other purposes, more especially if care was taken to select them from the more intelligent classes—such, for example, as could speak French, or sketch a plan, or make good observations. As special soldiers are appointed for the duties of the staff corps and for sappers and miners, so these horsemen might be rendered available for raids across the front of the armies—two or more together (ride and tye), obtaining information about forage and supplies, and learning the facilities of a district to nourish and quarter troops. They might also execute many of the duties that have frequently to be sought for and organized after a campaign has been inaugurated, such as the gain of intelligence, &c.

[3] Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon; Biographie Universelle; Schiller.

JOHN TZERCLAES, COUNT VON TILLY,

AN IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

Born 1559. Died 1632.

His parentage and education.

CONSIDERABLE doubt hangs over the occasion or origin of the name of Tzerclaes, because personal names are not in Germany or the Netherlands a necessary concomitant of titular honour, as in England. The name of Tilly is, however, derived from a lordship of that name in South Brabant, where there is a castle in which our hero was born in 1559. His father was a nobleman of consideration, for he was a member of the Imperial war council, and hereditary Seneschal of Namur; his family was of an ancient and illustrious Belgian stock, which had been already ennobled in the fifteenth century, and was regarded as one of seven patrician families of the Netherlands. Some biographers have been fanciful enough to imagine that Tzerclaes is a corruption of Sir Claus, or Sir Nicholas. But seeing

that the great general's name was John, this would seem an idle supposition. Little is known of his youth; but it is believed that he was designed for the Church, and that thus falling into the hands of the Jesuits he became deeply imbued with Romanist impressions and prejudices. For some reason or other he adopted the profession of arms in 1580, and served in the army of the Duke of Alva. He quitted, however, the Spanish army in 1598, and, adopting the Imperial service, followed the Duke of Lorraine into Hungary, where he obtained considerable personal distinction in some campaigns against the Turks. In 1607 he accepted service with Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, who gave him the charge of the whole militia of his State, with the title of General Oberst. When the unfortunate Elector Palatine accepted the crown of Bohemia, and dared the Emperor and his Catholic League, Duke Maximilian took part with Ferdinand, and received in return full powers to direct the Imperialist army, which was to march in the cause of the Emperor against his Bohemian rebels and the power of the Evangelical Union. To Tilly was entrusted the command of the forces of Bavaria, which were assembled at Donauwerth, whence with great promptitude he advanced with 30,000 men into Upper Austria, and captured Linz. The Estates, surprised and unprepared, purchased the Emperor's pardon by an immediate and unconditional submission. Tilly then united his forces with those of Count Boucquoi in Lower Austria, and at the head of 50,000 men entered Bohemia. The rebels were driven before them, and fled into Moravia. Boucquoi and Tilly determined to obtain possession of the important fortress of Neuslitz, and on the 11th of June, 1619, having Count Dampierre in advance, they captured the Castle. Mansfeld, however, sent up a body of cavalry against Dampierre; but Boucquoi, coming up, drove them back upon the supports; until at length Mansfeld himself came up at the head of his cavalry, but was also driven back upon his

His first campaign.

infantry, and a large amount of booty, valued at 20,000 rixdollars, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Every town that attempted resistance was quickly taken by storm; whereupon the rest, terrified at this rapid inroad, voluntarily opened their gates. Nothing now interrupted the impetuous career of Maximilian and his doughty General. Prince Christian of Anhalt, in command of the Bohemian army, retired before them to cover the capital of that kingdom. Here the Protestant army had been joined by 10,000 Hungarians, under Bethlem Ghabor, who had usurped the kingdom of Hungary: but Mansfeld had separated from Anhalt, of whom it is supposed he was jealous, and, instead of acting in concert with the allies to oppose Tilly, he remained in the camp of Pilsen, at some distance from Prague. The Elector Palatine, acting the part of King within his palace, left it to his generals to intrench his army upon the Weissenberg, or the White Mountain; while on the 8th of October, 1620, he presided at a grand entertainment given to his lords and retainers. In the middle of the feast a messenger came in to announce that the Imperialists had suddenly advanced, and fallen upon the army of the Prince of Anhalt. The charge of the Bavarians and Walloons had already proved irresistible; the Hungarian cavalry had fled; and the Bohemian infantry, thus left uncovered, had followed their example. In the short space of an hour the decisive action was over, and the unhappy King, for the personal security of his Queen and family, sent to Maximilian to request an armistice of twenty-four hours. This the Duke of Bavaria refused; and Frederick was forced to flee with his wife and principal officers, in the night, for their lives, leaving the crown behind them. The occasion for this hurried abdication was not, however, so imminent, and gave occasion to the imputation that he, whose weak ambition had so quickly grasped a sceptre, was in fact a poor creature and a poltroon, for he had still

Mansfeld's army resting idle at Pilsen, and another force under Count Thurn within the city. Yet, pusillanimous as the wretched Frederick undoubtedly was, and utterly unfit for the elevation to which he had so weakly aspired, he was already in the first and last year of his reign a royal philosopher, for he ended his monarchy with this truism,—"I know now what I am: there are virtues which only misfortune can teach us; and it is in adversity alone that princes learn to know themselves."

Attacks Mansfeld at Pilsen.

But, to return to Tilly.—Thurn and his party retired towards Moravia. King Frederick and his followers fled to Breslau. Tilly moved to attack Mansfeld, but was unable to force him out of his camp at Pilsen. In the Emperor's cabinet, meanwhile, the ruin of Frederick was resolved upon, and the task of carrying the decree for his destruction was entrusted to Maximilian, whose victorious arms had dethroned the fugitive monarch. Neither the power, nor a pretext of right, was now wanting to enable him to place the Palatinate in the possession of the Duke of Bavaria as the reward for his timely assistance; and Tilly the Bavarian General was accordingly ordered to carry his army into the Pfalz. The unscrupulous General, finding no one to oppose him, wreaked the vengeance of the Emperor upon the subjects of the pseudo-King, who was already in the fulness of the Imperial power degraded from his Electoral dignity, and declared to have forfeited his estates for taking up arms against his Suzerain. The high place and station in the Empire thus obtained by Bavaria has remained with it to our times, until, at the destruction of the German polity, the Electorate was turned into a kingdom by the power of Napoleon.

Defeats the Duke of Brunswick.

Tilly was at this time directed to possess himself either by force or otherwise of the States of Hesse; and he took up his winter quarters in that principality in 1621; but in the following year Frederick entered the Lower Palatinate in disguise, and brought the "tower

of strength of his name" to the protection of a new army under Mansfeld. George Frederick, Margrave of Baden, who had assembled a considerable military force for the Evangelical Union, came to his aid, and suddenly took the field, uniting his forces with those of Mansfeld. The Duke of Wurtemberg likewise augmented his military strength; so that the courage of the Palatine for a moment revived. It was now high time for Tilly to look around him; and he sent to summon the Spanish army under Corduba out of the Netherlands to come up to his assistance. The armies of the Margrave and Mansfeld having, however, very unwisely separated in 1622, Tilly immediately fell upon the latter, and defeated him near Wimpfen. He next selected for his antagonist Christian, Duke of Brunswick, Administrator of Halberstadt, and, coming up with him at the town of Höchst, on the Maine, disputed with him the passage of that river in a murderous action. On the Duke's forming a junction with Mansfeld, Tilly pursued the united host into Alsace, and thence returning into the Palatinate, now denuded of all defenders, Heidelberg, with the magnificent palace of the fugitive King, was stormed by the savage soldiery, who wreaked such a vengeance upon this splendid pile as may be witnessed to this day. The valuable library was seized by the General, and transmitted to his patron Maximilian, who sent it as a present to Pope Gregory XVI., as a means of reassuring himself of the Pontiff's favour. It probably forms part of the treasures of the Vatican, where the finest collection of books and manuscripts in the world does nothing for the maintenance of religion, and little for the advancement of learning. Duke Christian of Brunswick, and the two brothers, William and Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, still kept the field, and, having collected together 22,000 men and 15 guns, marched on Osnabrück, near which, on the 8th of August, 1623, Tilly came up with them, at Steinfurt on the Aa, and

by a vigorous attack on their outposts forced them to fall back on Stadtloen in the Bishopric of Munster, where he obtained an easy victory over them on the 10th, taking all their guns, together with 80 colours, and obliging the leaders to seek their personal safety on the confines of Holland. Brunswick, in consequence of this victory, formally seceded from the Union, and embraced the party of the League; and the Hanse-towns also recalled their troops, and desisted from further opposition against the Emperor.

Storms Manheim. The Protestants bestir themselves.

The Union was now paralyzed: no Protestant Prince was in arms. But, on the frontiers of Lower Germany, Tilly, at the head of his victorious army, encamped on the Protestant territory. Manheim was taken by storm, and burnt to the ground. The Administrator's magazines at Lippstadt were confiscated. Catholicism was imposed on the whole of the Pfalz. But although there was no enemy in the field, the Protestants yet predominated in Lower Germany, in which the Church had been forcibly deprived of most of its endowments, and the present appeared a favourable moment to the Catholic party for recovering these lost possessions. A great part of the strength of the Lower German Princes consisted in these chapters; and, although they were frightened and humiliated, they were not yet reduced to the call of "Stand and deliver;" so that the dread of a general and forcible suppression of Protestantism throughout Germany raised the popular interest against their remaining inactive in this danger.

The King of Denmark Generalissimo of the troops of the Union.

The remembrance of the ravages which Tilly's army had committed in Lower Saxony, caused that Province to be the first to take up arms again; and they addressed themselves for subsidies and assistance to their Protestant brethren in England, Denmark, and Sweden. It was some time deliberated what power to place at the head of the Evangelical Confederacy; and Denmark having been suggested by England, Christian IV. hastened, in 1624, to place himself at the head of the

troops of the Union. The Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburg rejoined the alliance, and an army of 60,000 men was raised, of which the King of Denmark took the command, as Generalissimo. Negotiations, exhortations, commands, and threats, were employed by the Emperor in vain to recall Lower Saxony to its obedience to him, and to frighten Christian out of the field, until at length Tilly was set in motion with his army. The King was sufficiently wise and prudent to avoid any thing that was likely to bring on a decisive action, though Tilly sought it incessantly.

The Emperor had hitherto waged war with the arms of Bavaria and the League, and had no army of his own in the field. This dependence on others was galling to his pride, and ill accorded with the grand schemes which the Imperial Cabinet had been led to form from the prosperous conduct and brilliant commencement of the war. His Majesty felt that an army under his own orders only could establish the pre-eminence of Austria in Germany; but the Imperial dominions had been so laid waste, that they were exhausted, and the Emperor was accordingly quite unequal to the undertaking. In this emergency he was saved by the prompt appearance upon the scene of the most famous of all the Generals of that time—Albrecht von Wallenstein, who offered to raise and clothe an army for the Emperor at his own expense and that of his friends. The offer was at first treated as the chimerical offspring of a visionary brain, but nevertheless it was gratefully accepted, and in a few months Wallenstein collected 20,000 men under arms. The orders given to Wallenstein were, to form a junction with Tilly, and to attack the King of Denmark; but before he commenced his march he had already augmented his forces to 40,000 men.

The Emperor is joined by Wallenstein.

In August, 1625, Tilly encountered the Duke of Saxe Weimar at Stolzenau, but was forced to retreat upon Göttingen, where he was joined by Wallenstein.

The Imperialists attack and totally de-

Defeat the King of Denmark at Lutter.

Now therefore, for the first time in this war, an Imperial army appeared in Germany with a force calculated to destroy the Protestant cause. But the two leaders of the Catholic League were, singularly enough (for they were quite unknown to each other), jealous of each other from the very commencement, and indisposed to act together. Disobeying therefore his orders to act in concert with the General of the League, Wallenstein marched to Dessau, and there made himself master of the bridge across the Elbe. The King of Denmark forthwith ordered Mansfeld to march against Wallenstein, and endeavour to interpose himself between the two armies of the enemy, while the King occupied himself with Tilly, who detached a part of his horse into Westphalia to seize the Bishoprics of Munster and Osnaburg. Tilly spread the terror of his name throughout the Lutheran States, and, taking up a position at Minden, laid siege to Göttingen; on which Christian sent four regiments of infantry and six of horse to the Kallemberg, to draw him away from that object; but Tilly, on the 29th of June, 1626, sent 4000 men under General Furstenberg, who drove them back, and Göttingen surrendered to him next day. Tilly then meditated a similar attack upon Nordheim, in the Duchy of Brunswick, before which place he sat down, but was taken seriously ill: and his adversary, hearing that the General of the League was sick, moved forward 16,000 men to the relief of Nordheim, and succeeded in throwing into the place the necessary supplies for a long siege. The King, however, lingered so long in this operation that Tilly recovered, and, receiving some reinforcements from Wallenstein's army, followed by forced marches after Christian, who had already reached Duderstadt, and there came up with him. The King, to avoid an attack, retreated towards Brunswick, but Tilly incessantly pressed upon his rear, and at length brought the army of the Union to bay near the village of Lutter under the Baremberg in 1627. The Danes

commenced the battle gallantly, and thrice did their intrepid monarch lead them against the enemy; but at length numbers and the better discipline of the Imperialist forces prevailed, and Tilly defeated them with the loss of 8000 men, 22 guns, and the King's military chest; 4000 men and several officers of distinction were killed, and a great number of prisoners laid down their arms.

Christian himself fled from the field with his cavalry, and was enabled to collect together again the wreck of his army which had survived the serious defeat at Lutter. Tilly, however, was not in the mean while inactive, but, pursuing his victory, made himself master of the Weser and Brunswick, and forced the King to retire to Bremen. Rendered more cautious by defeat, the army of the Protestant Union again acted on the defensive; but the forces of the League spread themselves along the Elbe and Havel, and every where drove the Danes before them. Wallenstein in the mean while returned from Hungary, where he had utterly destroyed Mansfeld's army, and immediately united with Tilly to pursue their advantages against the King of Denmark by removing the seat of war into the heart of his dominions. The Protestants had been unable to cope with Tilly alone, and with a now shattered force could not hold their ground against the confederated Imperial Generals. The greater part of Mecklenburg was accordingly overrun by Imperial troops, and Wallenstein, with little or no opposition, set his foot in Holstein. In 1627, Tilly, anxious to bring the Danish campaign to a close, seized Hamel, and, crossing the Elbe at Brissenburg, also entered Holstein. Hitherto unvaried success had attended the arms of the League, and Christian IV., defeated and driven out of Germany, sought refuge amidst his own islands; when the Baltic checked the further progress of the conqueror, who nevertheless, in 1628, planted the Imperial standard in Jutland. The German Princes now in a sad and un-

Invades Denmark.

worthy spirit of selfishness left the Danes unaided, and made their own terms with the Emperor. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel set the base example of deserting his Protestant brethren; but the Landgrave William, a man every way worthy of his noble ancestry, adhered to the cause of religion and honour.

Tilly concludes a peace at Lubeck with the King of Denmark.

Wallenstein applied for and obtained from the Emperor a grant of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, which he had overrun and conquered; and having thus become a neighbour of Denmark, and a sort of brother Sovereign, he resolved, even at the sacrifice of his Suzerain's interests, to secure its alliance; and Christian IV., finding himself utterly without protectors, readily received the proposition made to him. It would appear, however, that Tilly had been won over to concur in this act; for it is stated that it was he who concluded the peace at Lubeck in 1629, by which the King of Denmark ingloriously retired from the field, and withdrew altogether from the German contest.

Ferdinand had it now in his power, for the second time, to secure the tranquillity of Germany; and it depended solely upon his will whether the treaty of Lubeck should or should not be the basis of a general settlement. But the good understanding between the Emperor and the Princes of the League had rapidly declined since the employment of Wallenstein. In the Diet held at Ratisbon in 1630, the haughty conqueror attended in person as Duke of Mecklenburg; and although the Duke of Bavaria was present, with the electoral cap on his head, as the prize of his share and his success in the great conflict, he could not bear, after having been so long accustomed to sway the Imperial power, to see himself supplanted by this new comer, and his own state and importance seemed tarnished by the arrogance of the new Duke of Mecklenburg, who appeared at the Diet with a pomp which threw even his Imperial master into the shade. His dismissal from his post at the head of an Imperial army, now that the League

Tilly receives the command

appeared secure from its enemies, was loudly demanded by the whole college of electors; and the Emperor in an evil moment for his fortune listened to the earnest suggestions of a Capuchin friar [1], and determined on the impolitic act of dismissing his great General, who had nearly 100,000 men under his command, and whose name was worth more than even another such an army. The command of the Imperial armies was now conferred on Tilly absolutely. of the Imperial armies.

Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was one of the most zealous and conscientious advocates of the Reformation, and indeed he owed his crown to his faith, for his family had been preferred by the Swedes to the legitimate heir to the throne, who had adhered to Catholicism. His name had indeed been frequently in the mind of the Protestant Union since the commencement of the war, and came more especially before them at the time that the King of Denmark received the direction of their cause; but he was deemed by some to be too young for the post, and Christian's ambitious view upon the leadership had induced him to stir up a war, between Sweden and Poland, which kept the Swede's hands occupied, and had thus prevented his prudent young rival, the Swedish King, from embarking in a new and dangerous war. But the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, who made it the peculiar policy of France to be jealous of the power of the House of Austria, contrived to bring about a truce with Poland after the young King had defeated King Sigismund; and a peace was concluded that gave the Province of Livonia to the Swedish dominions. There was therefore now no longer Gustavus Adolphus becomes the leader of the Protestant Union.

[1] Ferdinand's narrow-minded bigotry had an influence upon his actions that can scarcely be credited. Schiller relates, on the authority of some writing of the Emperor's own confessor, "Nothing on earth was more sacred in his eyes than a priest. If it should happen that an Angel and a Regular were to meet him at the same time and place, the Regular would receive the first, and the Angel his second obeisance."

any hesitation on the part of the Protestant Union in claiming the assistance of Gustavus; and the heroic King landed with an army of 16,000 men at Usedom, in Pomerania, on the 24th of June, 1630. The troops which had fought under Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, the King of Denmark, and even in the army of Wallenstein,—officers and soldiers,—came in crowds to serve under the attractive standard of the Swedish King. The exiled Duke of Mecklenburg, driven to despair by the refusal of the Emperor to restore to him his duchy, openly espoused the cause of Gustavus, and, raising troops for his assistance, gave the command of them to the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg.

Tilly takes the field against Gustavus.

An Imperial General, Torquato Conti, commanded in Pomerania; and, although too deficient in troops and money to act upon the offensive against the King, he hoped, by a defensive policy, to give time to Field-Marshal Tilly to come up to his assistance. But the Imperialists had been ordered to rally about Brandenburg, where Tilly had assumed the command. He was far from undervaluing his antagonist. "The King of Sweden," said he, at the Diet at Ratisbon, "is an enemy both prudent and brave, inured to war, and in the flower of his age. His plans are excellent, his resources considerable, his soldiers enthusiastically attached to him. His army, composed of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scots, and English, by its devoted obedience to their leader, is blended into one nation: he is a gamester, in playing with whom,—not to lose, is to win a great deal."

Lays siege to Magdeburg.

Tilly collected with all expedition the Imperial troops, which were now scattered all over the Empire; but it required time to obtain from the impoverished and exhausted Provinces the necessary supplies to enable him to take the field. At length, about the middle of winter, he led 20,000 men into Pomerania; but as the King, who had already obtained possession of Demmin and Colberg, was prepared to contest the

passes leading into that Province with a far superior army, Tilly saw the necessity of abandoning his forward plan of operation, and fell back to Magdeburg, before which he sat down to besiege it. Pappenheim was at the same time sent to check the advance of the Mecklenburghers under Lauenburg; but by the capture of Demmin the King made himself a free passage to protect the Mecklenburg General, and was content to send Dietrich Falkenberg to be the Governor of Magdeburg, who was cordially received in that capacity by the magistrates and burghers. Magdeburg, one of the most flourishing towns of Germany, maintained a republican independence, which inspired its citizens with a brave heroism, as it had deeply imbued them with Protestant opinions. A superior officer, styled Administrator, had obtained their confidence and concurrence to defend their liberties, and had raised troops, and made preparations against the probabilities of a siege, before Gustavus sent them this distinguished military governor. Tilly haughtily summoned the Elector of Saxony to comply with "the Edict of Restitution," and to order Magdeburg to submit; and, on receiving from the Prince a spirited and resolute refusal, he repaired in person to command his forces before Magdeburg, on the 30th of March, 1631, in order to push the siege with vigour.

Tilly is reinforced by Pappenheim at Magdeburg.

Pappenheim was therefore called back from Mecklenburg, and the outworks were soon carried, when Falkenberg, drawing his garrison in from the points he could no longer hold, destroyed the bridge over the Elbe, and concentrated the defence. The suburbs of Sudenberg and Neustadt were at once abandoned to the enemy, who reduced them to ashes; and Tilly, in order to carry forward his approaches on both sides of the river, sent Pappenheim across the Elbe, at Schönenbeck, to attack the town on one side, while he proceeded with the works on the other. The garrison scarcely exceeded 2000 infantry and a few hundred

horse of regular troops; but the citizens had been armed, although their want of discipline made them but an indifferent reinforcement. Nevertheless religious zeal, an ardent love of liberty, an invincible hatred to the Austrians, and the expectations of relief from Gustavus, banished all thoughts of surrender; and they resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. Tilly, who fully expected that a few days might in truth bring down the King of Sweden to their aid, despatched a trumpeter to the Administrator and Governor, offering terms of capitulation; but he received for answer, that they would rather die than surrender. The King's arrival at Potsdam, and the advance of his outposts to Zerbst, so filled the Generalissimo with uneasiness, that he made a second and more favourable offer; but this only increased the confidence of the besieged; and, as will be seen in the sequel, caused some negligence in the defence. The enemy now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and by the continual bombardment the walls had crumbled much, and the hot shot had set the town in flames in several places; but owing to the excellent precautions that had been adopted by the Governor, the fires had been extinguished; and a lofty tower that had been overthrown having fortunately fallen sidewise on to the walls, and not into the ditch, it did not facilitate an assault. The ammunition of the besieged, however, began to fail, and the fire of the town accordingly responded more and more feebly to the cannon of the Imperialists.

Magdeburg surrenders.

Tilly had abandoned the hope of obtaining possession of the town by regular approaches before the arrival of the Swedes, and therefore now determined to hazard a general assault. It was the 9th of May, when on a sudden the fire of the besiegers ceased, and it was seen from the walls that the cannon was being withdrawn from the batteries. A deathlike stillness pervaded the Imperial camp, and the besieged, soldiers as well as

citizens, were convinced that the Swedish deliverance was at hand. In this confidence, after the fatigue of the night-watch, the posts were abandoned at early morning, and all were indulging themselves after their long toils in a sound sleep. A signal of cannon fire at about seven in the morning failed to awake them; when at that hour Pappenheim from one side, and Tilly from the other, although there was no breach effected, escaladed the walls, where there was an easy rampart and a dry ditch, and suddenly appeared in the town. Falkenberg, aroused by the musketry fire, hastened from the Town-hall, where he alone was vigilant, and hurried to the gate, which he found already in possession of the enemy, when the intrepid General, getting some of his men together, fell upon some of the Imperialists, whom he perceived to be scaling the walls, and, at the first encounter, fell dead on the rampart. The citizens, awakened by the firing, hastened to share the danger; but the Governor being killed, their efforts were made without plan or co-operation, and at last their ammunition began to fail them. Before noon all the works were carried by the besiegers, and the town was in the enemy's hands. Tilly marched in with his infantry, and, occupying the principal street, planted his cannon so as to command every approach; and the unhappy inhabitants withdrew into their houses, to await their destiny.

Cruelty of the Imperialist soldiery.

The period of a storm is generally one of silence; but a more humane general than Tilly would have felt that, with an unbroken military force in the very centre of the town, he might have restrained the violence of his men; but he never made the attempt: the soldiery broke into the houses to indulge their brutal appetites, and their insatiate love of plunder; and now commenced a scene of horrors for which history has scarcely a parallel. The soldiery spared neither age nor sex. The Germans are said to have exercised some slight forbearance; but the Croats committed cruelties

unknown even to savage life. In a single church, into which the women had fled for refuge, fifty-three were found beheaded while kneeling before the shrine of St. Catherine. One of these miscreants boasted that he had stuck twenty heads of babes on his pike. Many of them threw the children into the flames, but retained the defenceless mothers and daughters to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. The noblest acts of devotion are recorded of these heroic women. One young lady of quality, seized by an officer, begged the use of her hands to wipe her eyes, and when released plunged into the river and was drowned. Other young girls also cast themselves into the Elbe. Many leaped into the flames of the burning houses, to escape from the brutality of the soldiers. The town had, in fact, in the confusion been fired in several places, and the wind rising rapidly so increased the flames, that 137 houses, and the old Cathedral, which was esteemed fire-proof, were all that in a few hours remained of the once proud city of Magdeburg. About 4000 persons took up their refuge in these buildings, where they were for more than three days without food.

Barbarous excesses committed by Tilly's troops.

Tilly never ordered any sack, but maintained a gloomy and fatal silence. Some officers of the League ventured to remind their General that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. "Return in an hour," said he, "and I will see what I can do: the soldier must have some reward for his danger and his toils." It was not, however, till five days subsequently—the 14th of May—that Tilly appeared himself in the town, and put a stop to these disorders. In the interval it is related that he might have been seen mounted on a bony charger, contemplating the ruin and havoc under which Magdeburg was writhing, and looking with stolid indifference on the thousands of bodies floating down on the waters of the Elbe. The description given of his figure is a most graphic caricature of the outward man. He was in person a tall,

thin, haggard-looking individual, with a pointed chin, and a great deal of hair about his face. He was generally attired in a long slashed green satin jacket with slashed sleeves, with one single red feather depending from a small high-peaked hat, under which large piercing eyes peered from beneath a deeply-furrowed brow of considerable breadth. His face was sallow, ghastly, hollow-cheeked, with a stiff moustache, like a brush, under a long pointed nose. The appearance of the man was terrific and vulture-like, with an indescribable wildness of demeanour. His return to the place after it had been partially cleared of ashes and dead bodies was accompanied with an act of some compassion. He sent to promise the wretched refugees quarter, and commanded bread to be distributed among them. The Administrator, who had been taken prisoner after receiving three wounds, with three of the burgomasters, was pardoned. The whole number of the slain was reckoned at no less than 30,000 persons; and Tilly wrote to the Emperor that since the destruction of Jerusalem there had been no such spectacle as Magdeburg had presented.

Gustavus is charged with neglecting to aid Magdeburg.

Tilly announced its fall to the Protestant Princes in the tone of a conqueror, and lost no time in making the most of the consternation it had created. These complained loudly and generally against the King of Sweden, who with so large an army in the very neighbourhood, had left the heroic city of the allies to its fate; and Gustavus was under the necessity of publishing to the world a justification of his conduct. Injurious as the immediate consequences of the King's delay in advancing were to the Protestant cause at the moment, its remoter effects were most advantageous. The German freedom rose again like a phœnix out of the ashes of Magdeburg.

Tilly invades Saxony.

The Elector of Brandenburg was the brother-in-law of Gustavus, and, cold as he was in the cause of religion and liberty, and alone swayed by self-interest, yet the presence of the Swedish army in his capital and terri-

tory brought him to his senses, and forced him to pronounce for the Protestant Union. Among the Princes of the Leipzig Confederation, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were still wavering in the cause of independence. Tilly therefore first directed his attack against the latter, and marched straight from Magdeburg into Thuringia. The Imperialist General sent to demand of the Landgrave the immediate disbanding of his army, and the reception of the Emperor's troops into his territories and fortresses. The intrepidity of this Sovereign's reply was admirable, with the dreadful fate of Magdeburg so fresh in his mind. "To admit foreign troops into my capital and fortresses I am not disposed: my troops I require for my own purposes; and as for the threat of an attack, I can defend myself. If General Tilly wants money or provisions, let him go to Munich, where there is plenty of both." The immediate result of this spirited reply was the advance of a detachment of the Imperialist army under Count Fugger, who endeavoured to excite the Hessians to rebellion; but the Estates of Hesse did not hesitate for a moment to stand by their Landgrave. The Elector of Saxony, without taking any warning from Tilly, continued his preparations for resistance, and adhered to the Confederation of Leipzig. Tilly, from his camp at Wolmerstadt, commanded him by a special messenger to open his territories to the march of the Imperial troops, and to disband his forces, or join them to the Imperial army. In reply, he forbade the quartering of the Emperor's army in his territories, and announced his firm determination to persist in his warlike preparations. In order to frighten him into compliance, Tilly sent deputies to the Elector to remind him, that, of all the German states, Saxony had hitherto been the most respected; and he threatened, in case of pertinacious disobedience, to visit it with the most destructive ravages. Tilly's deputies were entertained with a princely reception, and with something of an ironical civility they were told, "that the Saxon con-

fectionery which had been so long kept back was at length to be set upon the table; but as it is usual to mix with it nuts and garnish of all kinds, Gentlemen, take care of your teeth."

Tilly instantly broke up his camp; and, before Gustavus could move to prevent it, he invaded Saxony with the most frightful devastation. The Elector, roused by the cries of his people, obeyed the pressure of circumstances, and fulfilled their ardent desire by pronouncing openly for the Protestant Union; and the King of Sweden, though inferior in force to the army of the League, which had lately been reinforced by 25,000 veteran troops under Furstenberg, advanced with fearless speed to drive the invader out of the Saxon territories. Tilly had in the mean time advanced to Leipzig, and summoned it to receive an Imperial garrison; and on the second day the gates were opened to him by Hans Vor der Pforta, the Saxon commandant, and he prepared to bring the King of Sweden to the ordeal of a battle. Captures Leipzig.

Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 7th September, 1631, called by the Germans *Dies Reginæ*, the Swedes and Imperialists confronted one another on the broad plain of the Elster. The Imperial army numbered 24,000 infantry, and 11,000 horse, with 26 guns, and were placed on a gentle height between Breitenfeld and Sochausen, having the little brook of the Loder, with its marshy banks, and village of Podelwitz, in front of the position. Here the Field-Marshal was disposed to await the reinforcements which were on their way to him under Altringer and Tiefenbach. As soon as the confederate Swedes and Saxons had crossed the Mulda, the impetuosity of Pappenheim obliged Tilly to alter his arrangement. He saw plainly that it was not his interest to fight unless urged to it by some unforeseen and irresistible necessity. He determined within himself either to fortify his camp, or evade a battle altogether. It was a favourite maxim with him Battle of Leipzig, or Breitenfeld.

"never to dip his foot into water till he had ascertained how cold it was;" and another was, "never to wade a stream, unless he could see or feel the bottom of it." With these views he called a council of war at the grave-digger's house, at which Tilly had his head-quarters, and where Schomberg and some of the elder officers concurred with the Field-Marshal on the desirableness of declining a general battle, if that were possible. Pappenheim, with Furstenberg and the younger Colonels, opposed this; but the majority concurred with the Commander-in-Chief. A fair champaign district spreads itself all round the city of Leipzig, in which Breitenfeld is situated. The spot is historic, for here the Emperor Charles V. overcame and took prisoner the Elector of Saxony; and it had from that or other causes received the name of "God's acre." The two armies were at some distance, but within sight of each other, and the Imperial camp was protected with some slight intrenchments. The infantry, which had been placed in two lines, were now drawn up in a single line; and the artillery was so disposed upon the elevation behind it as to sweep the extensive plain of Breitenfeld. The cavalry were in strong masses on either flank; and a reserve of six regiments, with cavalry intermingled, stood in the second line. The Swedish and Saxon army consisted of nearly 20,000 infantry and 15,000 horse, and, crossing a swampy pass near Schortza, at once advanced in two columns to pass the Loder, when Pappenheim, though ordered by Tilly not to commence a battle, fell upon the advance with 2000 cuirassiers, but, after a brief struggle, was forced to retreat, after setting fire to Podelwitz. Tilly sent up troops in support, but could not prevent the King from advancing, and forming in order of battle. As soon as Tilly saw this, he turned round to his staff, and said, "Now, my old friends, we must look for blows." On the right the Swedes drew up in two lines, the infantry in the centre, divided into columns that could be easily and rapidly manœuvred,

without disturbing the order of the line. The cavalry were formed on the flanks, divided by squadrons in the King's manner, having musketeers interspersed in the intervals to annoy the enemy's horse. There were 100 iron four-pounder guns arranged in front of the army, the left of which was commanded by Gustavus Horn, the right by the King in person, while Colonel Teufel commanded the centre. A considerable interval divided the Swedes from the Saxons; which was an arrangement concurred in between the King and the Elector when organizing the battle. Pappenheim was opposed to the King on the part of the Imperialists; and Furstenberg to Teufel. Tilly himself commanded in the centre. The numbers on either side were nearly equal,—about 34,000 or 35,000 horse and foot each. A cannonade of two hours commenced the battle; but the wind happened to blow so as to carry the clouds of smoke right into the faces of the Swedes.

Tilly moved first, and fell upon the Saxons, and with such impetuosity as to break their line and throw the whole army into confusion. The Croats, who formed the attacking force, immediately commenced plundering, and the two forces were in consequence thrown into disarray and intermixed with each other. Pappenheim carried the entire force of cavalry against the right wing of the Swedes, but was opposed by Baner, under the King, who stood firm under the assault, which, though renewed, could never succeed; so that at length Pappenheim abandoned the field to his adversary. Tilly, as soon as he had crushed the Saxons, turned against the left wing of the Swedes. Here Horn opened his guns upon him, which kept the Imperial cuirassiers at bay; while the infantry, interspersed with horsemen, proved their formation completely effective. The Imperialists were already beginning to relax the vigour of their attack, when the King, having no longer an enemy in his immediate front, wheeled his main body to the

left, and attacked the heights on which the Imperial artillery were posted, and captured all their guns, which (as soon as he had gained possession of them) he turned upon the enemy. In this part of the field were posted the Walloon guards, a famous body of Castilians, who boasted that they had never yet fled from a field, and who now continued firm under a murderous fire, retreating to a thicket near Soehausen, where, though reduced to 600 men, they yet maintained their resistance. Tilly, bleeding from several wounds, made in the mean while the most desperate attempts to regain his artillery, while his army fled away from him on every side. The Field-Marshal owed his escape to mere chance. Exhausted by loss of blood, he was summoned to surrender by one Longfritz (or Longsides), a Swedish captain of horse, whom he stretched on the ground by a pistol shot, when Cronenberg, at the head of the Walloons, came to the rescue, and carried the Field-Marshal safe from the field. Seven thousand of the Imperialists were killed on the ground they stood upon; and more than 5000 were either wounded or taken prisoners. The entire artillery and camp, with more than 100 standards, were the prizes of the victory. Amid the dead and wounded Gustavus Adolphus threw himself on his knees, and the first joy of victory gushed forth in fervent prayer to the great Giver of it. The wreck of the Imperialists was so complete, that, on reaching Halberstadt, Tilly could not rally 600 men, nor Pappenheim more than 1400; and the Field-Marshal from this moment never again recovered his cheerfulness or good fortune;—all former victories were as nothing to him, since he was now surviving his well-earned reputation, and losing at a blow the fruits of a career which the gain of this one victory would have crowned with glory. Not without piety almost as fervent as that of his triumphant adversary, but of a totally different character, Tilly, dejected and sad, sat

Tilly is defeated by Gustavus, and wounded in action.

down in his head-quarters, at Halberstadt, and smote upon his breast, saying,—

> "Ich habe ja mein Bestes gethan,
> Doch könt ich Gott nicht wiederstahn."

The Generalissimo was not, however, a man to sit down and pout. Scarcely allowing time for the cure of his wounds, he was again in the saddle, and hurried towards Lower Saxony to recruit his forces from the Imperial garrisons about the Weser[2].

Gustavus and Tilly prepare for fresh encounters.

Gustavus was equally on the alert, and made himself master of Merseburg and Halle with little difficulty. But the question was, what to do next? To have followed after Tilly would have been to place the seat of war in a mere corner of Germany, while the King found himself in the South amidst a friendly people, enthusiastic in the Protestant cause, with the road clear to Vienna, which lay open and defenceless before him. But Tilly was not slow in recovering his strength, and was not likely to allow his enemy to walk over the course without coming quickly upon his trace. "The old devil," as Gustavus, writing to the Pfalzgraf, called Tilly, "is already in arms again." He could not hope that the Saxon army under such a general as Arnheim, of whose military skill the field of Breitenfeld had afforded but equivocal proof, would be of sufficient avail to stop Tilly if he should regain strength, and by a series of rapid successes attain again to a superiority that should animate the courage of the party of the League, which it was well known would be but temporarily depressed. At this conjuncture the Emperor and the Princes were assembled in a Diet at Frankfort on the Maine; and the King thought that by marching on that place he might paralyze the Im-

[2] In a volume in the British Museum, entitled "Caricatures of the Thirty Years' War," there are bound up some very curious prints of the battle of Leipzig, as the victory of Breitenfeld is popularly called, showing the dress and arming of the soldiery of the two armies, and the formation and order of battle of the contending forces, all very clearly pourtrayed.

23683

perial power, and encourage the Protestant Princes in their opposition to the Emperor, and by the prestige of his presence determine the wavering; while on the other hand he well knew that his approach to the Rhine would have a considerable influence on his French ally. Eventually he elected for the road towards the Rhine, leaving the Elector of Saxony to occupy Bohemia.

Tilly endeavours to retrieve his disaster.

The consternation of the Emperor and of the Catholic League at Tilly's defeat at Breitenfeld was excessive; nevertheless, they knew that they were still powerful. In Franconia, Suabia, and the Palatinate, the Imperialists held garrisons that could only be overcome by dilatory sieges; while the Spaniards were ready to dispute with the King the passage of the Rhine, and were in force in the dominions of the banished Elector. Every Papist, whether German, French, or Spaniard, was in his heart an inveterate foe to Gustavus; and Tilly, not the least so, was already in his rear with a fast recruiting force, augmented by auxiliaries—the Elector of Cologne and the Prince of Lorraine—and burning with impatience to wipe out the stain of his defeat by a reassuring victory. He had already sent repeated messages to Altringer, to desire him to come speedily and join him in the Duchy of Brunswick; and he had put his army in order of march, and established his head-quarters at Fulda. He earnestly requested permission of Maximilian to carry them forward, to give battle to Gustavus; but the Elector was too cautious to permit the only army remaining to the League to be compromised by a second hazard, and authoritatively commanded him to refrain. He was therefore compelled to inactivity for the present; but nevertheless, on receiving a reinforcement of 12,000 men from Lorraine, he marched from Aschaffenburg to disturb the King, who had sat down to the siege of Wurzburg. That town and citadel successively fell into the hands of the conqueror, as well as the town of Hanau; but Tilly contrived to save a few of the garri-

sons from the impetuosity of the Swedes, and, crossing the Maine near Seligenstadt, he marched to the Bergstrasse, to protect the Palatinate from the enemy.

Is aided by the Duke of Lorraine.

Charles, Duke of Lorraine, however, not only sent troops to the aid of Tilly, but himself took the field against the Swedes at the head of 17,000 men. This Prince appears to have been known already for great unsteadiness of character, and a very heated ambition. He hoped to obtain in the cause of the Emperor the electoral dignity; and therefore, in opposition to the suggestions of a rational policy, he at once ran the risk of exasperating his nearest neighbour, the King of France, and rashly measured his arm with the Swedish King, for whom he was no match. Without military ability, he was a *martinet* in the equipment of his troops, who were brought up against the Swedes in the most splendid and showy accoutrements. They were accused, however, of being very lax in discipline, and of evincing their prowess more freely against the defenceless peasantry than they were likely to do against the bravery and solid formation of the Swedes. On the first panic, from the Swedish cavalry, this splendidly attired army made no stand, and fled from their cantonments about Wurzburg even across the Rhine. The Duke himself, loaded with shame and ridicule, hurried to his house at Strasburg; and, as he passed a village near the Rhine, it is related that a peasant struck his horse as he passed by, crying out, "Haste, sir; you must go quicker to escape from the great King of Sweden."

Lays siege to Nuremberg, and takes Bamberg.

The formidable presence of the armies of the League had hitherto kept down the Franconian States; but now that the seat of war had been carried towards the Rhenish frontier, the Protestants held up their heads, and collected together their strength at Nuremberg, which they placed in some condition of defence. Tilly, unable to check the Swedish arms in the neighbourhood of Wurzburg, and probably acting under the orders of his superior in taking his army nearer to Bavaria, while Gustavus was actually across the

Rhine, sat down before Nuremberg, and threatened it with the cruel fate of Magdeburg if it hesitated to submit to his summons. The King of Sweden no sooner heard of the straits into which the Protestants were brought by this vigorous action of Tilly in Franconia, than, being unwilling to expose himself a second time to the reproaches of Germany for betraying a confederate city to a ruthless enemy, he suddenly abandoned the siege of Ehrenfels across the Rhine, and hastened by forced marches to the relief of Nuremberg. Tilly no sooner heard of the approach of the Swedish army, than, in compliance with his orders, he raised the siege, and, collecting fresh reinforcements, assumed a formidable front, before which Gustavus Horn, who had been left by the King to watch him, could effect nothing. This Swedish General had obtained possession of the town of Bamberg by stratagem: but the Bishop was a zealot for the League, making no scruple of clothing himself in armour like a cavalier, and his townsmen were for the most part attached to him, and strongly opposed to the King of Sweden. The city was not surrounded with walls, and was called accordingly in derision "The Large Village;" but Horn began at once to throw up intrenchments, which were, unfortunately, of too great extent for his limited army. When Tilly therefore came down upon him at the head of 16,000 men, the Imperial advance, consisting of 2000 infantry, under Cratz and Fahrenbach, with Cronenberg's cavalry, fell upon some of the Swedes in their unfinished works, and, speedily overcoming them, pursued them to the head of the bridge, which Horn only just succeeded in blowing up, and thus checked their entrance into the city. Tilly, however, brought up his guns, which opened so heavy a fire upon the Swedes, that Horn sent off his guns and ammunition across the Maine, and, taking charge himself of his rear, succeeded in carrying all his army across that river at Eltenau, and destroying all the bridges.

Tilly's last battle, at the Lech.

Tilly's success at Bamberg now urgently demanded

the King's presence in Franconia; and, uniting himself at Goldensheim with the detachments of Horn, Baner, and the Duke of Weimar, Gustavus found himself at the head of 40,000 men, with whom he occupied Aschaffenburg. Maximilian was now imperatively called upon to decide in what way his opponent's victorious career might be checked. His General, too weak in numbers to encounter the King, had fallen back towards the valley of the Danube; and it was now for the Elector to determine whether he should endeavour to prevent the inroad of Gustavus into Austria, or to cover the frontiers of his own states with the Bavarian army. A potent sense of his own interest induced him at length to adopt the latter alternative, at the risk of rendering it the seat of a destructive war. Tilly had thrown a garrison of 1200 or 1500 men into Donauwerth, of which he had given the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg the command, with directions to hold it as firmly as he could, or until he could bring up his army to its assistance. The King was sensible of the importance of this place to his operations, as it is recognized as the passage of the Danube, that is, as it were, the key to Bavaria. He therefore marched his army at the rate of twenty miles a day; and at once, on his arrival before the place, assaulted and gained possession of an outwork. From thence he sent a trumpeter to the governor, who returned this short answer, "that the King knew better than any man what was the duty of those who had nothing to rely on but honour and the point of the sword; and that he had no tribute to pay His Majesty, except in gunpowder." Gustavus, however, threw such vigour and energy into his attack upon that place, that Lauenberg could not maintain himself in the town; and since Tilly was unable to raise the siege, he successfully executed a retreat from the ramparts by marching off under the heavy fire of the King's siege batteries. Gustavus, having thus got possession of the ramparts, secured the north bank as far as Ulm, and crossed

the Danube on the 8th. And now the tributary stream of the Lech alone divided the Imperialist and Swedish armies. Tilly detected the design of His Swedish Majesty of invading Bavaria by these movements; and he accordingly broke down the bridges across the Lech. He cantoned his troops all along the Bavarian side for an extent of sixteen miles; and, judging where it was most likely that Gustavus would attempt to cross, he erected some huge batteries, and placed some chosen veteran soldiery to man them. On the side of the Lech occupied by Tilly was the town of Rain, and here he formed a very strongly intrenched camp, which, surrounded by three rivers, appeared to bid defiance to all possible attack; and the whole course of the stream was occupied by the Imperialists as far as Augsburg, which was secured by a strong Bavarian garrison. The Elector himself threw himself, with his personal guard, into Tilly's camp, as if with some *presentiment* that his fortune was centred on the battle that he saw it was now incumbent upon him to fight.

Tilly is mortally wounded.

Gustavus had overrun the whole country around Augsburg; and the melting snows of the Tyrol in the month of March rendered all the many streams he had to cross over a work of danger and difficulty, that would cause a defeat to be attended with inevitable destruction with such torrents in his rear; so that when he came up to the bank of the Lech, opposite the Bavarian intrenchments, his council strongly urged upon him not to attempt to cross its boiling torrent, which threatened inevitable loss to the rash attempt both from fire and water, and also exposed the exhausted troops, who might in despite have successfully got across, to the necessity of attacking a fresh and vigorous enemy in an impregnable camp. But the King's resolution was fixed. His Majesty accordingly proceeded to reconnoitre the position assumed by Tilly in his front. It was an exceedingly strong one, having its right flank covered by the fortified town of Rain, defending its broken bridge; intrenchments also com-

manded the marshy ground that bordered the river, for the advantage of the inequality of the banks was in favour of the Imperial Commander; and abattis and every ingenious obstacle rendered exceedingly difficult all the approaches from those points where the bridges across the Lech had been destroyed; while the Aicha, a tributary, with steep banks that surrounded the camp, was also guarded by a flying detachment of 8000 men with guns. Tilly knew well the extraordinary importance of this inlet into Bavaria, and so cantoned his troops in greater or less divisions, as to have it in his power to assemble himself at any point of attack. His troops were thus disposed in good order on the banks of the Lech opposite the Swedes for the space of sixteen miles, and a fire of musketry and artillery never ceased, while Tilly employed himself every hour in examining the slopes and windings of the stream. But the experienced eye of Gustavus detected in the various reconnaissances he made, that his side of the river, opposite Rain, was higher by about a dozen feet than the side of the Bavarian camp, and that at this spot the preponderance of the Swedish artillery could be brought to bear with considerable advantage upon all the obstacles that had been prepared by Tilly. Profiting therefore by this circumstance, he immediately caused three batteries to be erected, and armed with seventy-two field-pieces. With equal presence of mind the King perceived a small island in the middle of the stream, which could cover an attempt to bridge it. Tilly apparently did not anticipate the attempt to throw a bridge across at the place selected, or thought himself able to prevent its being made use of; for indeed the spot was covered with thick beds of osiers, and was knee-deep in slime and water. It was Thursday morning, April the 5th, when the guns opened, under the direction of the artillerist Torstenson, tearing up every thing at 150 yards' distance: the King sent across two boats, in which were chosen engineers, pioneers, and soldiers, who instantly threw up mounds of earth

and side parapets; and Gustavus, who himself witnessed this success, remarked to his generals "that he would now compound for a victory at the expense of 1000 or 2000 of his best men." As soon, therefore, as Tilly heard that the head of the Swedish column had in this way crossed the river, he galloped up to the spot with his second in command, General Altringer, but had scarcely reached the bank of the river when both were struck with cannon shot—the one in the head, and the other in the knee, and Tilly was so shattered by a falconet shot, that he was brought to the ground. The loss of the Generalissimo filled Maximilian with the utmost alarm; but the dying man immediately sent to his chief the urgent advice that he would march immediately to obtain possession of Ratisbon, in order to secure the advantage of placing the Danube between him and his adversary. The Elector, therefore, acting upon this sound advice, yielded up his impregnable position, broke up his camp, and retreated from the field in good order. The next day Gustavus occupied the hostile camp; and when he saw the preparation that had been made for his reception, he exclaimed, "I would as soon have burned my beard, as have had to win such a position!"

Tilly's last moments.

The wounded Tilly was carried in the Elector's coach to Ingoldstadt, in which town he breathed his last. The Elector of Bavaria sat by his bedside till he expired. "Oh!" said Tilly to his Highness, "would that I had expired at the great day of Leipzig, instead of thus surviving my fame; for it would have been both to your advantage, and my honour! Two things I desire to leave on your Highness's mind, as my dying advice,—Never break your alliance with the Emperor; and make General Cratz commander of your army. That officer has courage to serve you, fidelity to content you, and parts to assist you. He will conduct your troops with reputation, and, as he knows Wallenstein, will traverse the designs of that insolent man. Not being conscious that I have ever used your Highness ill in the command of your armies, I shall ask no

forgiveness for myself, and am contented and thankful to die." He then kissed the hand of the Elector, who retired in tears. For twelve years Tilly had had an unbroken career of victory against many renowned antagonists, and in spite of many disproportionate numbers against him. But his glory waned before the superior generalship or good fortune of Gustavus Adolphus. It was thought at the time that the avenging manes of Magdeburg, and the effect of retributive justice, had brought upon Tilly the later misfortunes which tarnished the laurels of his earlier victories. At any rate, by his death the Imperial army and the cause of the League sustained an irreparable loss, and Maximilian of Bavaria was deprived of a zealous and most faithful General.

His personal appearance and character.

The personal appearance of Tilly has been already described, but it has been doubted whether it has been coloured to the life. All agree that he was an extremely ugly man; but some say he was a very tall, and some that he was a very short man. He always retained the air and manner of a monk, even at the head of an army; and he is said to have been remarkable for virtues seldom found in the military profession —chastity and temperance. He was moreover an enemy to every species of parade, marching with his troops in most unsoldierlike guise, mounted on a mean and beggarly palfrey. He was, however, popular with the soldiers, to whom he was always kind, considerate, and liberal; and, notwithstanding the odium that has been attached to his memory by all history for the cruel excesses at Magdeburg, he incurred it from no benefit from them for himself, but solely and avowedly for his followers. It is true that he was a very bitter Romanist, and hated the Protestants with a most unquenchable hatred; and this feeling may possibly have had its influence in the cruel resolve by which he gave over that unhappy city to desolation. It is recorded of him that he died poor; but whatever property he possessed

he bequeathed to the old soldiers who had longest served under him; excepting one rich diamond ring, which had been given him by the Infanta Isabella, which he bequeathed to the Holy Virgin of Oettingen [3].

Thus died John Tzerclaes, Count von Tilly, of whom it may be right to observe that, born a Walloon, he had passed through every stage of military life, from a foot soldier to the post of Generalissimo. He could boast that he had not lost one of six and thirty actions in which he had commanded, until conquered by the superior generalship of Gustavus Adolphus. It may therefore, I think, be reasonably concluded that Tilly owed the unbroken success that attended his earlier career to military qualities that were rather physical than educational; for his abilities in strategy and tactics are never mentioned by his contemporaries. His ardent zeal for Catholicism, which was doubtless sincere, but which partook largely of superstition, may have bestowed upon his character firm resolution, great determination of purpose, self-confidence, and that conviction of success, through vows and prayers, which often does something to obtain it. Moreover, there was during the first years of the conflict more homogeneity in the composition of the Imperial armies than was to be found in any other. They were all subjects of the Emperor, and of the same faith, which they were banded together to uphold and exalt. The troops of Maximilian of Bavaria, which Tilly commanded, were also better organized before the defeat at Leipzig than any to whom they had been opposed before the arrival of the Swedes. Tilly may certainly be placed high in the roll of warriors for his many victories, but not in the same first line of generals with Maurice of Nassau, Spinola, or Count Mansfeld.

[3] Schiller, Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon, Biographies, passim.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,

KING OF SWEDEN.

Born 1594. Died 1633.

THIS great and good man was the son of Charles IX., King of Sweden, and his Queen Christina of Holstein. He was also grandson of Gustavus Ericson Wasa, the great deliverer of Sweden, who was the first Protestant Prince that ever wore a diadem. The great name of GUSTAVUS is justly dear to Sweden, and the Northern wits accordingly endeavoured to anagrammatize the letters that form the word into AUGUSTUS; and by the transformation of a *u* into a *v* the attempt may be accomplished. Gustavus Adolphus showed many shining natural qualities from his early childhood, and his education was carefully fostered, and is said to have much resembled that which had been bestowed on Henry IV. of France; although no two men were, perhaps, ever more dissimilar in their after-characters. The boy was

His birth, parentage, and education.

inured to hardships from the beginning. He was habituated to feed wholesomely, but not luxuriously. Heat and cold were to be borne indifferently; and the young man was initiated into every athletic exercise, and learned the duties of a common musketeer almost before he could carry a musket. At the same time that the frame of the young Prince was thus forming for military employment, his mind was placed under the guidance of competent and learned tutors. The circumstances under which his family sat upon the throne of Sweden required more particularly that he should be modelled as a Protestant champion and defender of the faith; and never did there exist a youth who was so ready and willing to devote himself to the task of upholding the faith of Protestantism, and whose disposition was so naturally pious. He was taught all the living languages, and spoke Latin with fluency. He was partial to the mathematics, and an eager student of fortification and every military science. He had by nature a fertile genius, and a prodigious memory, with great docility, and a readiness in acquiring information beyond example. It was also observed, from his earliest manhood, by the youth who were his contemporaries and associates, that he was remarkable for strict moral and religious principles; and he evinced through life strong devotional feelings on every occasion of fortune, whether prosperous or adverse, and was already distinguished for his resolute attachment to the faith of which he was destined to become so illustrious a hero.

His first campaign.

Having been appointed by the King, his father, to be a Colonel of cavalry, Prince Gustavus made a campaign against the Danes in 1611, when he had only just attained his seventeenth year. He was ordered, as an *essai d'armes*, to storm the town of Christianopel; which he did sword in hand, having burst open the gate by the application of a petard; and he entered the town, which then was a seaport upon the Baltic belonging to Denmark, but which has been long since

annexed to Sweden. Towards the conclusion of the campaign he made a descent by night upon one of the Danish islands, at the head of 2000 musketeers, and had the misfortune to sink into a morass covered with ice not sufficiently frozen, where he lay with his horse under him struggling in the water against many enemies, until he was relieved by a company of cavalry led forward to his assistance by young Baner.

His accession to the throne disputed by Sigismund.

Charles IX. died at Stockholm on the 30th October in that same year, leaving, besides Gustavus, only one surviving child,—Princess Catherina, married to the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and mother of Charles Louis, who eventually succeeded to the throne of Sweden. There were at the moment peculiar circumstances that affected the immediate accession of Gustavus. John, Duke of Ostrogothia, and his half-brother Sigismund, King of Poland, were both of them sons of the elder brother of the late King, and therefore by the laws of consanguinity more eligible to the crown than Gustavus, who was only the immediate heir of his father. But the elder branch had been put aside by the arrangement of 1594, under which Charles IX. had succeeded; and although the Duke of Ostrogothia had himself conformed to Protestantism, and was therefore preferable to his brother King Sigismund, yet he had generously resigned all his pretensions in favour of his cousin, at the same time that the Queen Dowager, step-mother to Gustavus, made a full resignation of her claim to the Regency, which by the law of Sweden was justly her right until the male heir should attain his twenty-fourth year. Under all these favourable concessions Gustavus behaved himself with very great moderation. The Chancellor Oxenstierna, with the consent of the Queen Dowager and Prince John, convened an assembly of the States at Nicoping, to examine into the rights of succession; when the young Gustavus, in a public speech, assured the assembled Senate that his youth, inexperience, and the great difficulties of

state affairs, made him anxious to decline so dangerous a pre-eminence. "Nevertheless," he said, "if the States persist in making me King, I will endeavour to acquit myself with honour and fidelity." The decision of the States was unanimous in holding firm to the disposition of inheritance made in 1594; and Gustavus being formally proclaimed King, he received the Holy Communion, and passed through the ceremonies of inauguration on the 31st December, 1611.

War with the Danes, Poles, and Muscovites.

It was next deliberated in the Senate whether to propose a peace or truce to the Danes, Polanders, and Muscovites, or to continue the war; and it was resolved to support the young King with spirit. His Majesty accordingly summoned a public convention after his inauguration, to consider the ways and means of dealing with his enemies. The situation of Gustavus was truly critical. He had on the one hand two professedly avowed and dangerous opponents,—the Dane and the Muscovite, and in Sigismund, King of Poland, a personal rival, an indefatigable pretender to his throne and dominions, and an ardent zealot for the Romish faith. On the other hand it had to be considered that the interior parts of his kingdom required that new activity should be infused into agriculture and commerce, and that particular attention should be paid to the rich resources that might be obtained from the mines; and it required great tact in a young man of eighteen, to govern a kingdom just rendered hereditary in his family, and where every one of a certain birth and rank had an unsettled affection to his person, for they secretly repined at seeing the grandson of a subject raised to a throne, and thought they had equal claim, and, in a certain sense, equal pretensions with himself. But the great characteristic of Gustavus in every difficulty was an unalterable firmness when he had adopted a resolve, and in this spirit he now acted. With extraordinary resolution he kept all his nobles at a distance and in subjection, and gave the world an early

insight into his character, by the uncommon judgment and sagacity he displayed in rallying them to his side, and enlisting their concurrence in his actions. He appointed to all public posts, civil and military, persons the most remarkable for their merit, and took for his principal counsellor the famous Oxenstierna, although not more than ten years his senior in age,—a man whom posterity considers in the light of a statesman that has never been equalled.

Invades Denmark.

Although soon after his accession an Ambassador from James I. of England exhorted the young King to make peace with His Majesty's brother-in-law of Denmark, yet King Christian discovered such unbecoming eagerness to crush, or overreach, the young inexperienced monarch of Sweden in all his negotiations, that Gustavus thought it expedient to give his artful neighbour to understand that he did not in the least fear him on a field of battle, and he deemed it advisable to bring this to matter of proof. Accordingly he resolved to invade the Danish territories. He forthwith entered Norway with an army, having first given public commissions to privateers to interrupt the commerce of that kingdom by sea. Christian IV. was a Sovereign of only twenty-three years of age, and not likely to be cowed by the young Swede. But he was stronger by land than by sea, and accordingly laid siege to Jonkoping, which threatened an entrance into the heart of Sweden, and soon brought back Gustavus out of Norway in some perplexity. Christian occupied the strong citadel which commanded the Wetter Lake, and ruined the town and adjacent district, but, intrenching his army judiciously, declined fighting; until, by perpetual checks and interruptions, he so blunted the impetuosity of his youthful assailant, that he wearied out his patience, and mortified his hopes; and Gustavus, finding that he was likely soon to have King Sigismund on his hands in Carelia, where he would have to defend in person a district 180 miles long and 90 broad; and, seeing that he could not shine

as he expected to have done against King Christian, he accepted the mediation of England, and on the 19th January, 1613, concluded a peace with Denmark, to the surprise and astonishment of Europe.

Defeats the Russians in Livonia.

Gustavus after this sent Oxenstierna as Ambassador to King Christian, to express his desire to establish a permanent, substantial, and well-concerted peace with Muscovy and Poland. The former had recently made a new election of their Czar, at which both Sweden and Poland had been disgusted, for one of the ancient Demetrian race had been preferred to the families of Vasa or Sigismund; and accordingly the latter King was found readily disposed to unite with Gustavus in repelling the new Czar, who had declared war against them. His Swedish Majesty at once took the field, and took by storm the strong fort of Kexholm, upon the Lake Ladoga. He then crossed the Gulf of Finland, and sat down to besiege Plesko, or Pskof; but the Russian army, 24,000 strong, coming against him to disturb this operation, Gustavus encountered and defeated them on the confines of Livonia and Russia. In the course of the summer of 1617 he carried his army to the mouth of the Narova, where, on an island, is situated the stupendous fortress called Notteberg Castle, constructed by Ivan Basilowitz over the steep banks of the river. This he took by capitulation, and found there provisions and ammunition enough to supply his army. But the great pacificator-general, James I. of England, again succeeded in reconciling the combatants; and Gustavus returned home, having obtained from the Muscovites, by the treaty of Stolba, a large sum of money and a considerable slice of territory.

Effects reforms in the administration, and various improvements in the condition of his people.

During the short pause from military transactions that now occurred, the King, having convened his States, passed through the forms and ceremonies of a coronation at Upsal. The moderate repose he now for a short space of time enjoyed may be looked upon almost as the only rest he ever tasted, from the time

that he was an adult man to the premature close of his brief but active life. He at this time applied himself with uncommon diligence to comprehend the true nature of commerce, and to the art of easing as much as in him lay the pressure of taxes upon his people. He also proceeded to reduce his kingdom to a more uniform and well-connected system of government. He made some useful alterations for the despatch of business, so that it might not be impeded in his absence in war. He was very sensible of the deplorable and wretched state of the Swedish marine; and, knowing the extraordinary advantages of maritime strength, he paid great attention to the affairs of the navy, and endeavoured to obtain the best officers and mariners he could from Holland and the Hansetowns to aid this object.

Composes dissensions between himself and Sigismund, King of Poland.

Sigismund, King of Poland, was a Prince of a restless, turbulent, caballing, and ambitious spirit, and employed all his time in projecting and executing a number of attempts to repossess the Swedish crown. Political missionaries and insidious proclamations were dispersed in such abundance, that Gustavus was forced to adopt acts of reprisal. But although he managed the pen with as much address as the sword, it was most in his nature to cut the Gordian knot of a controversy with that instrument which he considered the most effectual agent. Accordingly he resolved to take the field against his adversary, and endeavoured to surprise him by embarking under the protection of 18 ships, and landing in the province of Livonia, when he took Dunamond and Windau upon the Baltic. The time and manner of making this invasion upon his neighbour were very opportune, for Bethlem Ghabor, Prince of Transylvania, exasperated against Sigismund for the assistance he had given the Emperor in the Hungarian war, had at this time formed a design for conquering Moldavia, a part of which province belonged to the King of Poland, and he introduced Turks and Tartars

into Poland to effect this object. This introduction of Asiatic barbarians into an European contest had, however, the effect of shocking the prejudices of Gustavus; and accordingly he readily listened to Sigismund's humble request and supplication, and, though the whole province of Livonia lay at his mercy, concluded a two years' truce with the King of Poland, on the principle of the *uti possidetis:* in the hope that the barbarians might be chastised, and that he might in the mean while settle amicably and by mutual consent the differences that subsisted between himself and his kinsman and neighbour.

Improves his army and navy.

After this, Gustavus again applied himself to departmental affairs. His navy was already so much reformed and improved, that it obtained a respectable reputation throughout the whole European ocean. The military departments were also improved in discipline, as well as in matters of his own invention in arms and artillery. Seeing that Sweden possessed the best steel, from which all offensive armour was formed, and that this occasioned considerable exports to Spain and Italy, he bethought himself to establish in his own dominions manufactories of swords and firearms, that might equal those from Brescia and the Ebro. He also paid up the sums still owing to Denmark, in order that he might take away all pretext on the part of Christian to renew hostilities, and threaten the rear of his dominions in case of his again going to war with Poland—an event which he saw was likely soon to occur. He also proposed a personal interview with his brother Sovereign at a frontier town, to which he repaired, and there passed the time from February 25 to March 11 in friendly hospitality.

It was about this time that he inherited several valuable territories and castles by the death of his cousin John, Duke of Ostro and Wester-gothia. It happened that he and Oxenstierna were lodged in one of these residences, to settle the occupancy of this inheritance, and that it took fire in the night, and spread

with so much vehemence that the doors and staircases were soon in flames. They could only save themselves from the fury of the flames by throwing themselves out of the windows, in which act the Minister received some worse contusions than the Sovereign. But the danger was not even then over, for the castle was surrounded by a moat, which almost touched the edifice, and His Majesty and the Chancellor were obliged to cross it by dashing into the water and wading up to their shoulders in water, ooze, and filth.

Weds the Princess Eleonora.

In the summer of the year 1620 Gustavus passed in a disguised habit through the chief towns in Germany, and returned home by way of Berlin, in order to see the Princess Maria Eleonora, sister of the Elector, who was then in her twentieth year, and a beauty of a graceful and majestic kind. The lady was a consort worthy of him, both as a heroine and a Christian. It is thought that he wooed and won the Princess in despite of her brother the Elector, and eloped with her from the Prussian capital. He introduced her as his Queen into Stockholm with extraordinary pomp; and the nuptials having been then solemnized, he appointed the ceremony of her coronation for the month of November.

Attempt on the life of Sigismund.

But while Gustavus was thus employed in the pursuits of love and pleasure, his Polish rival narrowly escaped a sudden danger in his capital at Warsaw, where an Italian nobleman, from some personal dislike, having concealed himself behind the door of a church, with a small battle-axe struck Sigismund in his hand, in the cheek, and on the shoulder, as he entered the sacred edifice. The assailant was immediately seized by Uladislaus, the King's son, and was put to a horrible torture, by having his breasts torn off with hot pincers at the two principal gates of the city, and his limbs torn to pieces by wild horses. But the King escaped with little hurt.

Invests Riga.

The intercourse between Sweden and Poland had been for some time in a very unsatisfactory state; and

Gustavus, seeing the inevitable consequence, had secretly made great preparations for a renewal of the contest with his kinsman, both by sea and land. In 1621 therefore, declining the custom, then still prevalent, of despatching a herald to declare his intentions, he embarked 24,000 men in a fleet commanded by his Admirals, Gildenheim and Fleming, and, after encountering a violent storm in the passage, landed them at Mulgrab, on the coast of Livonia, the capital of which province—Riga—he at once invested. It stands on the river Dwina, about two leagues from its mouth; and the estuary of the Dwina, which is a safe and commodious harbour, divides the city, which is large, with a commercial population, but well fortified, according to the science of the times. The King encamped with his army on the Dunes, to the east of the river, having 7000 infantry and cavalry, commanded by his brother Charles, Horn, Baner, and Ruthven, under him. De la Gardie, with about 5000 men, commanded a second division, Wrangel a third, and Claudius Fleming, brother of the Admiral, guarded the shores, while the ships lay stationed at the river mouth. The fortress was well prepared for defence; the bastions and ravelins were in good repair; and it was garrisoned by a considerable body of regular infantry. The citizens were enthusiastic in Sigismund's interest, and formed themselves into a militia for the defence of their town.

Riga surrenders, after a brave defence.

As this was the first siege of consequence in which Gustavus had been engaged, it may be mentioned that he was a very Proteus in the number of characters he sustained,—general, engineer, pioneer, miner, and general assailant. He would, in his eagerness to set an example to the men, strip to his shirt, and work away in the trenches with pick-axe and shovel; exhorting his brother generals, and other officers, who stood around, to follow his example. It is said to have been a remark of Charles V., "that no King had ever been killed

by a cannon-ball," and Gustavus was not an exception to the fact, for he was amidst continual danger; and men and officers were killed and wounded on every side of him, and yet he escaped. He sent a trumpet into the city, with proposals of an honourable nature to the commander and magistrates; but with very great insult they sent the messenger back to the King blindfolded, and quite drunk. His Majesty accordingly, in his anger, shelled the town incessantly; but, relying on Sigismund's promise of relieving them, the besieged maintained their courage, and continued an energetic defence. The Prefect of Lithuania, Radzivil, a man of the first quality in Poland, now arrived with 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, to the assistance of Riga, and to throw some supplies into the town; but he could not raise the siege. The great strength of the King's cannon-fire frustrated the design; and Radzivil, without evincing much activity or energy, was glad to march away, leaving Gustavus to carry on his further operations undisturbed. He now endeavoured to fill up the town-ditch with fascines and rubbish, and rendered himself master of a ravelin; but the besieged sprang a mine under the half-moon, which blew up 100 Swedish soldiers. Gustavus then employed the Dalecarnian miners to circumvent the citizens, and at length effected a breach, at which he thought to enter by the construction of a peculiar bridge of wood, which he threw across the fosse in the night; but the ardour of attack brought such a crowd of men upon it, that it broke under them; and the garrison, sallying forth, reduced the King's ingenious structure to a heap of ashes. An attempt to carry an outwork by Horn and Baner also failed; but the King, not in the least dismayed, applied himself again to mining; and towards the middle of September the rampart and the ditch were all undermined, and two new bridges were prepared capable of admitting five soldiers in front. A general assault was then ordered to take effect upon the springing of all

the mines; and on hearing of this the inhabitants began to be terrified. Morally certain now that he should obtain possession of Riga, he allowed the besieged but a short deliberation. But with true military generosity he again offered honourable conditions of surrender to those who had well performed their duty to their King, although they had carried themselves towards His Majesty in disrespectful and injurious terms.

His generous treatment of the citizens.

The instant Gustavus entered the town-gate, he directed his steps to the great church of St. Peter, where he kneeled down, and returned his thanks to God in a short prayer. The people of Riga were loud in their praises of their conqueror, and represented him to Radzivil as a Prince of unparalleled clemency and generosity. But the Pole coldly replied, that "he was not displeased to hear that the King of Sweden was a Christian." His Majesty never once upbraided the inhabitants for the fatigue and mischief that their obstinate resistance had occasioned him, but told them "he never desired, nor expected, better duty from them than they had shown their former master; upon which account he should not only preserve their privileges, but enlarge them."

Captures Danamond and Mittau.

Having fully garrisoned Riga, Gustavus invested and took Danamond, at the head of 14,000 men, and afterwards made himself master of Mittau, the capital and residence of the Dukes of Courland; of which place he made Wrangel governor, with a garrison of 2000 men. But he assured the reigning Duke of his favour, and that he would restore the place to him when he had made conditions with Sigismund; which engagement was eventually made good by the King of Sweden. A truce then ensued, which was to last till the expiration of the year 1622, in the course of which Gustavus had the affliction to lose his brother, who died at Narva, January 26th, in his twenty-first year;—a prince of acknowledged courage, and remarkable for uncommon

sweetness of temper: and he was loved and regretted extremely by the King, whom he had accompanied in all his dangers, and who had made him the confidant of all his designs. The grief for the death of his brother was the more profound, inasmuch as Gustavus had not as yet any child by his Queen Eleonora.

Renewal of the truce with Poland.

In 1623, the truce with Poland having expired, Gustavus, deeming it his best policy to make, rather than to repel, an invasion, embarked his army in a fleet of sixty-six vessels, of which twenty were large ships of war, and appeared to the astonishment of Sigismund, who himself witnessed the approach of his adversary from a watch-tower at Dantzig. The cousins immediately bombarded each other with all their great guns. This was followed by an interchange of messages and negotiations; but the year ended without any affairs more hostile than had already alarmed the town of Dantzig, which forthwith made a profession of neutrality, and so escaped a siege. The politics of Europe, however, began to be felt in these ice-bound regions; and French and Spanish intrigues bearing upon the great German contest (which had been now already commenced some years), began to influence the conflict between Gustavus and Sigismund. His Catholic Majesty sent the Count de Solre, a Flemish Grandee and a Knight of the Golden Fleece, to the Polish King; while His Christian Majesty sent one Charrasse, an agent with full powers, but without credentials, to stir up the two cousins to fresh war for their pleasure or benefit. Sigismund frankly told the Spanish Ambassador that Spain could not render him the slightest service, unless she sent a fleet into the Baltic; and Gustavus was too sharp-sighted not to discern the designs of Cardinal Richelieu, and cordially agreed with Sigismund not to be the dupe of this Spanish and Italian interference; and they accordingly agreed to a fresh cessation of arms between Sweden and Poland, to hold till June, 1625.

Gustavus's successful

When the time had arrived for the expiration of this

campaign in Poland.

truce, fresh negotiations had ensued; and Oxenstierna, who conducted the conference, said that, in expectation of a treaty being to be adjusted, he had his master's commands to prolong the armistice till August next ensuing, when it was clear that the season for a campaign would have elapsed. The affair, however, having at length terminated without any decision, Gustavus again embarked his army in a fleet of seventy-six ships, and sailed for Livonia early in the ensuing year; and by the beginning of April 1626, he had made himself master of the Castle of Kokerhausen, an important fortress, near the banks of the Dwina; and he then conquered Selburg, Dinaberg, Nidorp, and Potnavia,—all well supplied, and garrisoned by Polish soldiers. He afterwards encountered in the field the young Saprieha, at the head of the Polish army, who sought to begin a battle at the very moment when he ought to have avoided one, and, rushing into an unequal action, fell a sacrifice to his vigilant and determined opponent, and lost most of his baggage, and a considerable portion of his artillery. The King then throwing a bridge over the Dwina, continued his successful course, taking many important places, some by force and some by stratagem. Yet all these successes did not render His Majesty averse to an accommodation; and accordingly he despatched Oxenstierna once more to propose terms of peace to Sigismund.

Total defeat of the Polish army under Leo Saprieha.

At length a considerable battle was fought near Walhoff, on the vast plain of Semigallia (which is a portion of the Duchy of Courland), where the Polish army was commanded by Leo Saprieha, the father of the other general, and a prince not deficient in fine parts, but somewhat too old for the command of an army, as his son had proved himself too young. The action was sharp, but was soon brought to a conclusion in favour of the Swedes. Count Thurn commanded their right, and Gustavus Horn their left; and on the other hand the Polish army was composed for the most part

of Lithuanians, then esteemed the best soldiers in Poland. Gustavus, previously to the engagement, is said to have sent a trumpet to the Polish commander, with this message, "That as there were two such things in the world as peace and war, he made him the compliment of choosing that which he preferred." To which Saprieha replied, "That he had but one object of ambition,—that of making a fair trial with His Majesty upon equal ground." The Polish armies were always principally composed of horse, which it was believed in those days no infantry could withstand. But Gustavus had, as has been related, occupied himself especially with the arming and tactics of his foot soldiers, and although the bayonet had not yet been introduced, the pike had been very much improved in efficacy; and the columns of infantry were always marshalled with musketeers and pikemen combined, which rendered them quite equal to withstand the shock of cavalry. Accordingly, the issue of the battle that now ensued was most triumphant. The Poles were completely overcome, lost all their artillery and baggage, and a great number of standards and prisoners, and left 1600 men dead on the field.

Captures Pillau. Political state of Prussia at this period.

In the midst of this new prosperity Gustavus again offered terms of peace to Sigismund; but the Polish King remained inflexible, notwithstanding that the effects of his Swedish adversary's extraordinary abilities for war had been signally displayed in all the Livonian campaigns. The art of investing, and the skill of besieging, fortified towns, and the successes of more than one pitched battle, were alone sufficient to have disheartened any antagonist; but national misfortunes had also gathered around Sigismund at this juncture. Gustavus therefore pursued his career, and, to the utter astonishment of every one at his temerity, carried his army by sea into the harbour of Pillau, which town was then garrisoned by the troops of the Elector of Brandenburg, as Duke of Prussia. It may be use-

ful to relate that at this time Prussia was divided into two parts, one of which belonged to the King of Poland, and one to the Elector of Brandenburg, the former possessing Dantzig and all that lies to the east of the Vistula, the latter the country upon the Baltic on the north, and lying along the frontier of Livonia, Lithuania, and Courland. Pillau was a place of some importance on the Baltic, about twenty miles distant from Koenigsburg; and the Governor at once yielded the place on the King's first summons. Gustavus brought his flotilla of boats into the Frisch, and, disembarking his troops on its shores, rested there some time, dealing with the whole country as if it were his own. He took Brauensberg and Frawnberg, and transferred the collegiate and town libraries to that of his Swedish University at Upsal. He afterwards took Ravensberg, and sat down to besiege Elbingen, a strong and important city, whose governor yielded it upon favourable terms, and put His Majesty into possession of money, refreshment, and a vast quantity of military stores, very convenient for his necessities. He also successfully engaged several Polish Generals at the head of more than 16,000 soldiers in several affairs of moment. Marienberg, which had been the seat of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, to whom Prussia formerly belonged, was thought not to be sufficiently garrisoned; and it was said that one Penclau, the governor, was not above listening to terms of compromise. The King accordingly invited him to supper, when the custodian frankly surrendered both town and castle during the repast, and gave up his provincial chest as surety for the due performance of his promise. In short, the King of Sweden made himself master of the whole of Polish Prussia, and set his eye upon the possession of Dantzig, to which he at length laid siege.

Siege of Dantzig.

Circumstances were in some sort more favourable to him than to Sigismund; for the King of Poland was fully occupied, and necessarily absent from his army.

The Cossacks had invaded the Chersonesus; and the Grand Signior had recalled all his Turks and Tartars from the service of the Polish King; moreover, violent personal animosities had broken out at this moment between Sigismund and his generals, as well as between the generals themselves. But, on the other hand, it must not be overlooked that Gustavus was an opponent of no ordinary magnitude. His army was organized in a manner superior to what had heretofore been witnessed in war. He was not only a first-rate general in the field, but he was an administrator of wonderful acquirements. The commissariat, the guns, the siege equipment, and the discipline and *morale* of his army, were perfect. He had vigilance to provide, activity to examine, and resolution to execute, whatever appeared to come within the range of forethought. His troops were well clothed, well paid, and well fed, and, it is almost unnecessary to subjoin, admirably led into action. He allowed of no plunder, cruelty, debauchery, nor immorality,—all which were forbidden no less by his example than by his command; for he made his officers and soldiers as like himself as circumstances would admit.

The siege of Mew raised.

While Gustavus was before Dantzig, the townspeople sent him deputies, who so far cajoled the King that he carried on the siege feebly, until the King of Poland himself arrived at Graudentz at the head of 30,000 men. Sigismund instantly laid siege to Mew, a small town at the confluence of the Versa and Vistula, where he intrenched himself within works of circumvallation. Gustavus was unwilling to raise the siege of Dantzig, and having made a careful reconnoisance of the Polish works, he attempted to storm them, but without success, after a struggle that lasted two entire days. The Poles, however, were sufficiently alarmed to break up from before Mew, and to permit the King to enter that place, where he rewarded the garrison for their resolution and bravery. He desired his chaplain to

perform a service in the nature of a "Te Deum" before the garrison, and at the end Gustavus addressed to them this pious and appropriate remark: "That he never doubted the success of a battle when Moses held up his hands on the mount." The campaign concluded without any very defined success on either side; and soon after his return to Stockholm the Queen presented Gustavus with a daughter (afterwards Queen Christine), on whom he settled the succession, and whom he declared heiress to the Swedish throne.

Gustavus takes Marienberg.

Early in the year 1627, Gustavus was exposed to one of the few reverses he experienced in any of his campaigns. A body of 8000 men under two leaders of mark—Colonels Strief and Teuffel—were surprised by the Polish General, Conospoliski, and taken prisoners. It was the month of May; however, before he carried his fleet to Prussia, and he opened a new campaign at the head of a brave and disciplined army with the siege of Marienberg, which he soon reduced, though it was well supplied with provisions and military stores, and doubly garrisoned. He heard, however, that Adolphus, Duke of Holstein, was marching with a body of Imperial troops to the assistance of Sigismund; and he therefore resolved to anticipate this reinforcement by attacking the Polish army at Dirschau. Here he at once fell upon the Polish infantry with the Swedish cavalry so effectually, that they would have been hopelessly broken, but for the opportune arrival of some Polish horse; and unfortunately in the *mêlée* the King was struck by a falcon-shot in his elbow. This untoward event, at the very commencement of a campaign, sensibly affected Oxenstierna and the chief officers of his army, who thought the King exposed himself too much. When, however, the surgeon was puzzling himself to extract the ball, His Majesty besought him to "let the ball remain in his body as an illustrious monument that he had not passed his youth in idleness and inactivity." Gustavus, however, was

obliged to give up his command, and return to Stockholm to recover from the effects of the wound.

Gustavus' unsuccessful attempt against Dantzig. He receives reinforcements from Charles I.

Gustavus regarded the non-acquisition of Dantzig as such a thorn in his side, that he was eager to renew the war in the spring of 1628, and re-embarked his army in a fleet of thirty-three sail. In approaching the port near the fort of Weissalmond he lighted upon seven Dantzig ships, some of which he captured, dispersing the rest; and he then landed his men, and ordered one of the outworks of the fortified city to be stormed; but his troops were repulsed with loss, several officers being taken prisoners, and Count Thurn, the general in command, wounded. Stung to the quick by this disgrace, Gustavus placed himself at the head of 7000 men, and by activity, dexterity, and stratagem, made himself master of a small island, from which he thought he could advance the siege. It is related that in this affair he first made use of leather artillery, for which the King had always an uncommon fondness, as it was partially an invention of his own, and was so easy of carriage. Conospoliski was soon in the field against him; and Gustavus marched with 24,000 infantry and 2000 horse, of which 9000 were English or Scotch soldiers, who had been sent to him by Buckingham, who was now Prime Minister to Charles I. of England. To this army it is related there was attached a corps of 3000 archers. It is believed that these soldiers were some irregular barbarians, who had come under the power of the Swedes; and Prince Eugene, in after times, conceived the idea of employing troops of this armament to be so judicious, that he introduced into his army some Hungarians and Croatians, who were armed with some species of bows and arrows. The English have employed them in the wars of India; but on no occasion that I know of have they aided in securing the palm of victory. Indeed, it is much doubted whether irregulars of this description do materially increase the strength of modern armies, since they are difficult to

maintain in discipline, and are more likely to do mischief than any positive good. At the same time, there are moments in war when an unexpected weapon produces considerable effect. The Swedes and Poles again came to a pitched battle, which cannot be said to have ended in a victory, although the latter lost 3000 men, four field-pieces, and fourteen colours; and their general was grievously wounded in the encounter. About this time likewise Wallenstein sent an Imperial fleet against the King to assist Dantzig, consisting of eleven vessels under Admiral Appelman, who, though killed in the encounter, attacked the Swedish fleet, and took four ships, driving the remainder into the port of Pillau. The Swedish Admiral Sternskield blew up his ship and all his crew to prevent capture. The King was sensibly affected by this disgrace; but he sent for another fleet of twelve ships, which completely shut up the commerce of Dantzig.

Gustavus defends Stralsund against Wallenstein.

The Emperor of Germany about this time sent Schwarzenberg to the Hansetowns, to demand from them such shipping as might be needful to contend against Gustavus, and to aid the attempt now making by his army under Wallenstein to obtain possession of Stralsund. Gustavus accordingly now took up the cause of the Stralsunders, and sent a reinforcement of troops to their Danish garrison, who, finding the defence of that place beyond their strength, cast the burden of it, with all its danger and glory, upon their then Swedish friends and allies. Wallenstein had sworn "that, though Stralsund hung in the air from heaven by a chain of adamant, he would take it." It was not an easy task, however, as he soon experienced; for no place is better situated for defence by nature. It parts the sea in a sort of elliptical figure, having the two extremities joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Behind it lies the lake of Franken, to which there is only access by a single causeway. And the Swedish fleet was much more able to furnish a garrison with supplies from the

seaward, than the Imperial navy was to prevent it from doing so. Gustavus sent in Sir Alexander Leslie, with a chosen body of Scotch and English troops, to defend the town; and the Danish Governor, Holk, for some time acted under him. This episode of the defence of Stralsund ultimately brought the Swedes into the great German contest; for Wallenstein, after a siege of three months, found he could make no impression upon the gallant Leslie and his garrison, and saw that it was next to impossible to get possession of a place well defended, and which could at all times receive fresh supplies from the sea.

Conference at Lübeck: Gustavus excluded from it.

Gustavus at this time received an insult, which some attribute to the Emperor himself, and some to the influence of Wallenstein, who dreaded the King's interference between him and the King of Denmark. His Swedish Majesty, with studied contempt, was excluded from the discussions of a Congress, or Conference, that assembled at Lübeck in 1629, at which plenipotentiaries attended from Ferdinand and Christian; as their deliberations intimately concerned Gustavus, both as regarded Stralsund and Mecklenburg, he despatched two Swedish deputies to attend it; but these were forbidden to enter Germany, or to approach Lübeck, under pain of death. Astonished at this unexpected rebuff, they referred the matter to King Christian, who informed them "that if *the Northern plenipotentiaries* had any thing to propose that concerned public policy or utility, they should submit their proposals to the Austrian ministry at Vienna." Such an affront struck deeply into the royal heart of Gustavus, and he resolved to resent the indignity the first opportunity; nor did he hesitate to admit that it was one of the motives that afterwards led him into the German battle-field.

Narrow escape of Gustavus at Stralsund.

Gustavus, in the commencement of the year 1629, introduced into the town of Stralsund reinforcements, and a good supply of ammunition; and Wallenstein, who had now got the Saxon contingent attached to

his army, determined to make it available for his designs. He accordingly called to him its commander, and said to him, with characteristic insolence, "Arnheim, take 10,000 men, and drive Gustavus out of Poland; and in case you should not find yourself equal to the task, let him know that Wallenstein will come and effect it himself." Arnheim forthwith carried his troops to Grandenz; and came up in twelve days to the banks of the Vistula, over which Conospoliski threw a bridge of boats near Marienverder, in order to facilitate the junction of the two armies. Gustavus, either to impede this junction, or through eagerness to encounter the confederates, came up to within a few miles of Thorn, at the head of a part of his army. There was a difficult passage, situated in the midst of a wood, of which both armies endeavoured to get possession, and a sharp strife for it ensued. Otho Lewis, the Rhinegrave, who commanded for Gustavus, behaved so rashly, that he lost some 200 killed, and many colours and prisoners were taken before the King could come up with him. But though Gustavus soon saw that with such unequal forces as he was leading against hardened and experienced troops he could have little success, yet he would not allow a detachment of his army to be sacrificed without the endeavour to bring them off with credit. After various skirmishes and manœuvres on the loose sand-hills of the district, Gustavus contrived to obtain possession of a hill on which 8000 or 10,000 men, that he had with him, could make head against the larger forces opposed to him, whom he felt sure could not find sufficient room to act. However, the Imperialists, by their superior fire, were successful, and got possession of the top of the hill. Regiment now engaged regiment, and Gustavus himself entered into the personal struggle, when, seeing Baron Sirot, a Frenchman, endeavouring to carry off the colours of his own body-guard, the King fired a carbine at him, which lodged a ball in his right arm; but he returned

the fire at the King, and the ball passing near His Majesty's head, his hat fell to the ground, and this being picked up was sent as a trophy to the Emperor Ferdinand, who despatched the impious and heretical head-gear as an offering to the shrine of our Lady at Loretto. Although Gustavus was long ignorant of this destination of his missing beaver, he very much disliked the loss of it. The King the same day received five musket balls in his armour, and would have been taken prisoner but for one Soop, a captain of horse, who shot the Polish horseman who had already a pistol at the King's ear, because he refused to ask quarter. Conospoliski was also pierced with several balls, and was actually once a prisoner, but was also rescued. The Rhinegrave's brother John, as also Herman Wrangel, were both killed on the side of the Swedes; but on the other hand the regiment of Bindhauf, esteemed the very finest in the Imperial service, was entirely ruined in this battle; and some twenty German ensigns remained as trophies in the hands of the Swedes. The next day Gustavus received a reinforcement of 3000 men, who came up to him on the field; and this enabled him to retreat, without the least molestation from the enemy. He fell back to his old camp at Marienverder; and the Confederates took up a secure and advantageous position on the field of battle.

Judiciously declines a battle with Sigismund.

Soon afterwards Sigismund arrived in the confederate camp, and, having summoned a council of war, resolved to follow Gustavus, and force his intrenchments. But the King was not a man to sleep in any position, and in the space of eight days made his camp so difficult to be approached, that His Polish Majesty, although he made the attempt, was after many unsuccessful assaults repulsed with considerable loss. The united generals spared no pains to tempt the Swedish King to try the fortune of battle; but that sagacious Prince understood his profession too well, and had too just a notion of the disparity of his forces, to

attempt doing any thing of the kind for the remainder of the campaign.

A treaty of peace signed.

Cardinal Richelieu had long desired to enlist the power of the King of Sweden on the side of the Protestant Union, now struggling hard against the House of Austria in the German contest; and Baron de Charnacé was despatched to him as French Ambassador, who at this time arrived in the hostile camp of the contending Kings, with letters to each of them, to endeavour to prevail upon them to send their respective deputies to a conference that should effect a peace. For this purpose tents were erected between the camps, at about 500 paces from each army. In a few days the treaty was signed, and it was stipulated that it should be in force for six years. The first consequence of the truce was the return of Arnheim and his Saxons into Germany, who was employed by the French Ambassador to carry back to the Elector, his master, some arguments to induce that Sovereign also to desert the side of the Emperor, and to join the Protestant Union. De Charnacé again attended the Swedish King when he returned back to Stockholm in 1630, and with much tact and caution suggested a scheme that should induce Gustavus to enter Germany at the head of his army. But this was done in such high terms, and with such an air of indifference, that the King treated the conditions on which it was asked with much disdain. He did not choose to enlist himself as a mercenary general in the German war, upon a stipend to be paid him by France; nor was it pleasing to him to be bound for a limited number of years by an engagement that might preclude him from treating with the Emperor, should conditions be offered to him satisfactory to his personal honour, and the interests of the Protestant cause. For these reasons these negotiations did not at that time proceed; and De Charnacé set off once more on his return home. But on his arrival at Copenhagen he received orders from Richelieu

to return to Stockholm, with fresh instructions; and the King, in consequence of these amended offers, sent his secretary to Paris, to insinuate that Gustavus had no disinclination to an engagement, if the proposals were reasonable, and not inconsistent with his welfare and dignity [1].

Gustavus sends proposals to Wallenstein and Tilly.

The matter being thus dismissed for a season, Gustavus referred the whole matter of peace or war to the States of his kingdom then assembled in Senate, who made it an earnest request to His Majesty, not to consent to any peace "except he had his helmet on;" and on no account to relinquish present or future acquisitions for Sweden, but to maintain the sovereignty of the Baltic and the possession of Stralsund at any rate, together with the true preservation of the rights and dignity of the Protestant religion. In consequence of this, Gustavus despatched one Nicholas Bielke to Stralsund, with letters from the King to the Imperial Generals—Wallenstein and Tilly. The former had not the politeness to return His Majesty an answer; but the latter replied with great respect in vindication both of himself and of his party: Gustavus, however, was contented to hold his ground against both Imperial Generals by maintaining himself master of Stralsund; which was a port he could hold with his fleet, and which might be a convenient base from whence to advance or to retreat, should he eventually agree to disembark with an army in Germany.

Gustavus regarded as the sole champion of the Protestant cause.

After the unsuccessful attempt that the King of Denmark had made to oppose the Emperor and the Catholic League, by leading the forces of the Protestant Union, Gustavus Adolphus was the only Prince in Europe

[1] Of the extreme flippancy of this Baron de Charnacé it is recorded, that when discussing with the Stadtholder of Holland some enterprise in which the Dutch were excused for having failed, owing to the wind and tide, he replied, "Your Highness will be pleased to remember that there is no *such* wind or tide in France."

from whom the oppressed Germans could look for protection, and liberty of conscience and of action. The cause of freedom, in its widest acceptation, had languished and waned ever since Christian's failure before the triumphs of the Emperor Ferdinand and the Roman Church. The only man who could aid the suffering cause was the King of Sweden, for he alone was personally qualified to conduct the enterprise, and had political motives to recommend, and personal wrongs to justify it. He had, before the war in Lower Saxony commenced, offered his services and his army for the defence of Protestantism; but the King of Denmark, to the great detriment of the cause, had been preferred before him; and that Prince's offer to lead their armies had been accepted in his despite; so that as a man he could not have been insensible of such a slight, but he did not resent it. Since that time, however, both the Emperor and Wallenstein had sanctioned hostile measures against himself, which were equally offensive to him as a General and as a King. The Imperial troops had been despatched to the assistance of the Polish King, Sigismund, against his nation; and when Gustavus had remonstrated with the Imperial General respecting the acts of hostility against his naval and military forces, he was answered, "The Emperor has more soldiers than he wants for himself; he must help his friends." The Swedish Ambassadors had been insolently commanded by Wallenstein to withdraw from the late conference at Lübeck upon strictly Scandinavian affairs. And soon after, when, unawed by this command, they were courageous enough to remain to represent their royal master's interests and the concerns of Sweden, the General, contrary to every law of nations, had threatened them with personal violence. Ferdinand had also insulted the Swedish flag, had intercepted the King's despatches in Transylvania, and had thrown every obstacle in his power in the way of a peace between Poland and Sweden. Nay, the Emperor

had gone so far as to deny the right of Gustavus to the throne of Sweden, and had supported the pretensions of Sigismund against him. So many personal motives, supported by important considerations both of State policy and sectarian feeling, had their full weight with a Prince like Gustavus, who was ambitious of being deemed the protector of the oppressed, and the defender of the faith, and one who passionately loved war as his peculiar element. Pressing invitations from all sides were now added to his own personal motives for embarking in the German war[2].

Is encouraged by England, Holland, and France to embark in the German war.

England, Holland, and France, alike interested themselves in the matter, and without even consulting together expressed their convictions that His Swedish Majesty alone could perform the task of raising the Protestants of Germany from their present abasement. It is affirmed that the understanding with France was at the first verbal only, and not reduced to the form of a treaty, but that it stipulated that for six years the King would contribute annually for the purpose of maintaining war in the German Empire a sum variously stated at from £66,000 to £82,000. The published correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe and Sir Dudley Carlton speaks hopefully of aid of some kind being likewise promised by England and Holland. Gustavus sent Sadler and the Chevalier Rache to the Helvetic Leagues, and to the body of the German League in general, to learn what assistance he might expect from them. But such a dread of the House of Austria possessed these last-named parties, that he received little encouragement from them.

Sir T. Roe's able diplomacy. Charles I. sends the Marquis of Hamilton to aid Gustavus.

The English and Scotch people had every desire to promote the undertaking of Gustavus; but their views were not at all responded to by Charles I. He had inherited from his father a desire to maintain peace at all hazards, excepting when actuated by a dynastic

[2] Schiller.

ambition to help the Elector Palatine out of his family troubles. At one and the same moment Sir Robert Anstruther was despatched to Ratisbon to negotiate the restitution of the Palatinate from the Diet; and Sir Henry Vane was deputed Ambassador to the King of Sweden. But Sir Thomas Roe, who had preceded Sir Henry at Stockholm, was a man of much higher parts and spirit, and who, greatly rejoicing at the Swedish expedition into Germany, had upon all occasions pressed upon his Court that Gustavus was an intrepid and judicious commander, who sustained in his own person all the offices of soldier and statesman. He had represented the absolute necessity of supplying the King with such pecuniary assistance as might determine him to undertake the invasion. And indeed Sir Thomas Roe's arguments for the cause were mainly instrumental in bringing Gustavus into Germany; for at length His Britannic Majesty gave the Marquis of Hamilton private instructions to levy a body of troops, and to conduct them into Germany, as an instalment of the assistance he would render; so that Gustavus took the proposal in good part, and immediately wrote back his own limitations and conditions of acceptance, which were, —that he reserved to himself the supreme power of command, but that the English army should act together under the Marquis of Hamilton. The King of England had indeed promised to provide the Marquis with warlike stores; but Hamilton himself had generously proposed to raise 6000 men at his own expense; and now, with the concurrence of the King, accepted all the conditions proposed, and engaged to land his troops to join the army of Sweden by June, 1631. Great diligence was therefore employed to raise an army. Donald Lord Reay (whose family name was Mackay), and David Ramsay, both of whom were already serving in the Swedish army, were sent over by Gustavus to facilitate and encourage the raising

of recruits; and their drums soon drew together a considerable body of troops, and many experienced officers were obtained, who had served in the wars of the Protestants both in Holland and the Low Countries. The cause itself was altogether more agreeable to the people of England and Scotland, than to the King, who continued cold in the cause, and could never be brought into an explicit treaty, but only to vague promises.

On the 16th of July, the Marquis of Hamilton, after reviewing his troops at Yarmouth, embarked them from thence for the Baltic, in a fleet of forty ships. He had been appointed to land at Bremen, where Gustavus sent Leslie, Governor of Stralsund, afterwards Earl of Leven, to meet him with supplies of bread and beer, and to negotiate with the Archbishop concerning the means of supplying the English army with provisions. Hamilton was piqued, however, at not finding the 4000 Swedes who had been promised by the King as an escort to direct him to the King's army, and thought proper, on his own impulse, not to land his troops, but to proceed onwards by water; which he did as far as the Isle of Usedom. Leslie was not a little astonished to see the King's plan disregarded, and hastened back by land to report this to His Majesty, and ask for further orders. Gustavus, it is said, disliked the Marquis from this time forward for his want of obedience, and confidence in him: but changing on the instant the plans that he had formed for the English contingent, he now ordered them to serve on the banks of the Oder, instead of the Weser; and the Marquis landed 6000 English and Scotch, all in good health and spirits, upon the shore of the Baltic, and was ordered to report to Baner. This force was divided into four regiments of ten companies each, with 150 men in a company. Hamilton himself took the field with the air of a prince; his table, his equipage, and his liveries, were magnificent. He had

Reception of the Marquis of Hamilton by Gustavus.

forty gentlemen's sons by way of pages and volunteers. The King received him in his camp at Werben in a manner the most affectionate and polite that can be conceived, making him a thousand apologies for the scantiness and bareness of the quarters allotted to his troops. In a long conference in private he explained all the dispositions of his intended advance. The Marquis hastened to take the command of his countrymen, but never could obtain the favour of being declared general of the little army—for he was obliged to serve under a Swedish general whenever a junction was effected between him and any Swedish divisions. It must be confessed that this body of Britons proved but of little service in the sequel of the war. They suffered greatly from eating the German bread, and by indulging an immoderate appetite for new honey, of which they found great abundance in their quarters; and the German beer did not agree with their constitutions. By these means the diminutive army was reduced to little more than two regiments in a very short time. The King ordered the deficiency to be supplied with German recruits, for the expense of which he promised to become responsible. But the bold Britons revolted at being mixed with other troops, and soon became very unmanageable: indeed, when they had obtained good quarters, and happened not to have a mind to leave them, they continued in them, in defiance of His Majesty's orders. The Swedish commanders accordingly received orders, in case of their being refractory, to enforce obedience. At length the Marquis and General Baner, the Swedish second in command, came to an open rupture, and, in the teeth of Hamilton's resentment, the Swede, who was as well born as Hamilton, and would not bate the Marquis one jot in the article of pride, produced the King's letter from his pocket to assert his authority. Though Hamilton possessed all the gallantry, magnificence, and personal array that ought

Hamilton's insubordinate conduct.

to adorn the man of quality, yet he was but in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of his age, and Baner had already earned the reputation of being one of the ablest generals then in Europe. The British nobleman carried his remonstrances to the King, who told him that submission to superior authority was highly expedient to the public service, and he wrote to King Charles to require that the duty of subordination should be recommended to the British General, and that the pay of the troops might be transmitted to Gustavus himself, and not any longer to the Marquis of Hamilton. Thus matters stood when Henry Vane arrived in his ambassadorial capacity. With his well-known arrogance he proposed that Hamilton should have a separate command and a separate army, which should be uniformly levied and supported with English money for the recovery of the Palatinate. Gustavus received this proposition in a higher tone than was his custom: he declined giving the Marquis a commission to levy a new army; and his Chancellor, Oxenstierna, told the British General rather roughly, that he had received money for the troops from Charles his master, and that he must not therefore pretend that he maintained them from his private fortune. In the mean time the forces dwindled so much as only to consist of one English regiment commanded by Bellasis, and one Scottish regiment by Hamilton; and the Marquis of Hamilton found himself neither a general nor a colonel, and was in the end contented to follow Gustavus as a simple volunteer. King Charles, however, addressed a letter of expostulation to the Chancellor, which was not very intelligible excepting in its postscript, in which he says, "I hope shortly you will be in a possibility to perform your promise concerning pictures and statues, therefore now in earnest do not forget it[3]."

Letter from Charles I. to Gustavus.

The great prospect which now opens in the career of

Gustavus invades

[3] Harte.

Germany. His prospects, and resolute spirit.

Gustavus Adolphus is the important episode of his invasion of Germany. The King resolved to cross the Baltic and attack the Emperor. So dangerous a conflict would have dismayed any other than Gustavus Adolphus. He saw all the obstacles and dangers that opposed his undertaking, but he also justly calculated the means by which he hoped to succeed in it. "I know," he said, "the perils, the fatigues, the difficulties of the undertaking: yet, neither the wealth of the House of Austria dismays me, nor her veteran forces: I hold my retreat secure under the worst alternative. And if it is the will of the Supreme Being that Gustavus should die in the defence of the faith, he pays the tribute with thankful acquiescence; for it is a King's duty and his religion to obey the great Sovereign of Kings without a murmur." His army, though not numerous, was peculiarly well organized and disciplined, inured to hardships in many campaigns under a most inhospitable climate, and trained to victory. Sweden, though poor in men and money, was devoted to her monarch with an enthusiasm rarely shown by any people. The fame of her Sovereign exalted the sense of their importance in the mind of the nation; so that the peasant as readily contributed his pittance as the soldier did his blood to his country's aggrandizement. The single character of their King had imparted to Sweden a lofty energy, which long survived its originator. The necessity of the war was acknowledged by all; but the best mode of employing the strength of the State was a matter of much question. Even to the daring Chancellor Oxenstierna an offensive war in a foreign country appeared too rash a proceeding: the resources in the power of his master appeared to him too slender to compete with a mighty potentate, who held all Germany at his command. But the timid scruples of the minister were overruled by the hero's commanding prudence. "If we await our enemy in Sweden, all might be lost by a defeat. By a fortunate commencement of a war

in Germany every thing is to be gained. To begin depends on the retention of Stralsund; so long as that port remains in our hands, we shall both command the Baltic, and secure a continual communication with Sweden, and a certain retreat at any time out of Germany. But to protect this port we must advance at once into Pomerania. We must carry the war abroad. Sweden must not be doomed to behold a hostile banner upon her soil. It will be time enough to follow your plan when we are vanquished."

State of affairs on the Continent at this time.

It was well known that the name of the Emperor Ferdinand was as much hated as feared in Germany, and that the Protestant Princes only awaited the arrival of a deliverer to throw off his intolerable yoke. Even the Roman Catholic States dreaded the consequences of his overwhelming power. The strength of Austria had at this moment been lessened by ill-timed detachments to Italy and the Netherlands; Spain was crippled by her late reverses and losses, and was still engaged in a serious war in the Netherlands; so that she could afford the Empire no support. Gustavus assured himself in a personal interview with King Christian that he might rely upon the friendship of Denmark. Poland was to be held in check from the side of Germany, and the Swedish frontier on the side of Muscovy was sufficiently well guarded. The King had the promise of ample contributions of money from France, and the hope of some subsidies from England still remained to him. Hamburg and Lübeck engaged to advance him supplies in exchange for Swedish ores. The flourishing Hansetowns had hitherto escaped the impoverishment of the rest of Germany, and were prepared to stand by the Protestant cause to avert their ruin.

Gustavus prepares for the German campaign: his farewell address.

Having well considered the external defence of the kingdom, Gustavus provided for its internal administration during his absence at the war with equal care. He set his house in order like a man about to quit.

When all his measures were arranged, and all was ready for his departure, the King appeared in the Diet at Stockholm on the 20th of May, accompanied by his Queen, and his child, then only four years of age. Taking his daughter in his arms, he presented her to the States as their future Sovereign, and exacted from them a renewal of the oath of allegiance to her, in case he should never more return to his kingdom. He then read to them the ordinances he had prepared for the government of the kingdom during his absence, or during the minority of his daughter. Having done all the actual business of his interview with the States, it was some time before he could attain sufficient composure to deliver to them his farewell address, to this effect:—

"Not lightly or wantonly am I about to involve myself and you in this new and dangerous war: God is my witness that I do not fight to gratify my own ambition. But the Emperor has wronged me most shamefully in the person of my ambassador; he has supported my enemies, persecuted my friends and brethren, trampled my religion in the dust, and even stretched his revengeful arm against my crown. The oppressed States of Germany call loudly for my aid, which by God's help we will give them. I am fully sensible of the dangers to which my life will be exposed. I have never yet shrunk from them, nor is it likely that I shall escape them all. Hitherto Providence has wonderfully protected me. But if He will that I shall at last fall in the defence of my country, I commend you to the protection of Heaven. Be just, be conscientious, act uprightly, and we shall meet again in eternity.

* * * * * *

For the prosperity of all my subjects, absent and present, I offer my warmest prayers to Heaven. I bid you all a sincere—it may be an eternal—farewell[4]."

[4] Schiller.

There was yet the most trying pang of all—the parting from his beloved wife and Queen, Eleonora. He was so much affected, that at the end of his oration his utterance failed him, and he could only snatch a hasty embrace, and ejaculate, "God bless you." Then, mounting his horse, he galloped to Elfsknaben, where his fleet lay at anchor. This consisted of 130 ships of different sizes, which were divided into five several squadrons, conducted by as many land or sea superior officers. Admiral Gildenheim commanded on the right; General Baner on the left, and the King's flag royal, as Admiral supreme, flew in the centre. Among the superior officers who commanded under them, were Gustavus Horn, the Rhinegrave Otto Lewis, Count Thurn, Baner, Torstenson, Ottenberg, Bauditzen, Teufel, Tod, Falkenberg, Kniphausen, &c.

Takes leave of the Queen. Visits his fleet.

Detained by contrary winds, it was June before the fleet put to sea, and it was five weeks before they reached Pennemund harbour, in the island of Usedom. Either the King's foresight, or Leslie's zeal, so brought the thing about, that as he neared the shore he saw the whole country in a flame, and his Scotch friend, the Governor of Stralsund, with infantry and cavalry welcomed His Majesty. As Gustavus Adolphus sprang to shore on the 24th of June, 1630, the first of the expedition, the boats, each containing 200 men, followed close upon him, and the King, taking a pickaxe in his hands, immediately set to work with them to open a trench himself, as an earnest of his resolution to work in his own person, and before break of day he intrenched eleven regiments near the village of Pennemund. The day was noted as a propitious one, for it was the anniversary of that on which, just a century before, the "Confession of Augsburg" had been presented to Charles V. After having given all his orders to his Generals, the King retired a few paces from them, and, falling down upon his knees, offered up a prayer to the Almighty. Some of his officers appeared to sneer at

Sails for the island of Usedom.

this act of open and becoming piety, when he turned and said to them, "A good Christian will never make a bad soldier. The man that has finished his prayers has at least completed one-half of his daily work[5]."

Prepares to operate against Tilly.

The total amount of men that comprised the Swedish army which landed in the Isle of Usedom did not exceed 13,800; but the troops that were already in Germany, as constituting the garrison of Stralsund, were 6000 or 7000 more. These last were for the most part English and Scotch adventurers under Leslie, who held Usedom and Stralsund together with the island of Rugen; and Gustavus now selected this large and fruitful district for his magazines and base of operations. The two islands lay contiguous, and it was thought that the position could not have been made secure as an asylum in case of a reverse without the entire possession of both with Stralsund. Conceiving it now right and convenient to rest his troops after their tedious voyage, he allowed them two days to refresh themselves, during which he landed from the ships his horses and artillery, together with his supplies, provisions, and military utensils, with powder and shot; and he then ordered his fleet to return to Sweden, to be at the orders of Oxenstierna, who remained there in command of 10,000 men, and a considerable body of militia, ready as a reserve to resist any invasion that might be made from the side of his enemies, or from time to time to reinforce his army in Germany, which he now led boldly forward against Tilly, the Imperial General; having previously issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the invaded districts, assuring them that they might rely upon his most perfect protection.

Capture of Wolgast.

There were few Imperialist troops to be met with on

[5] It is said that in a country-seat in Sweden that belonged formerly to the family of De la Gardie may be still seen a picture in which this story is set forth, with the heads of all the generals standing round the King, all supposed to be painted from life.

the Baltic shores, and these retired before the King, showing no inclination whatever to encounter him. The Duke of Friedland, who as Duke of Mecklenburg might have been supposed most interested on his own account at the danger of having so redoubtable an adversary as the King of Sweden, was at this time at a considerable distance, looking after the important affairs of his own interests in Bohemia; and Tilly was in no disposition to enter the military walk appertaining to his rival, whom he feared on account of his ambition, and disliked from his insolent and overbearing temper, and was therefore contented to remain at the moment occupied in Franconia, and about the borders of Lower Saxony, as distant as possible from the frontiers of Wallenstein's Duchy. It is proper to give the credit due to the sagacity and courage of Gustavus in selecting the place of his landing in Germany, where the coast was clear, excepting the territory of the weak Duke of Pomerania, who was a Sovereign, but a mere shadow of power; and that of the Elector of Brandenburg, a not very powerful Prince, who had but a few soldiers, undisciplined and ill-paid. These petty Sovereigns were, however, held under surveillance by their Suzerain, with about 16,000 insolent and unmerciful Imperialists, who made the chain almost intolerable under the command of Torquato di Conti, who, on account of his severities and exactions, was generally called "the Devil."

Gustavus Adolphus, therefore, taking advantage of Wallenstein's and Tilly's absence, set his army in motion and crossed the little estuary of the Pene, that divides Usedom from the continent, marching direct to the town of Wolgast, where some 200 Croatians first came across his path; these were charged and cut to pieces; and the King made himself master, sword in hand, of a small fort at the water's edge, the command of which he confided to Baner, and pushed forward until he encountered three German regiments under Torquato himself. These however fell back before the

Swedes to their camps at Gartz and Stolpe, and left Wolgast to the King. Here he received overtures from Bogislaus XIV., Duke of Pomerania, to which Gustavus replied by the messengers, "that the King would carry his answer in person to the Duke their master." A detachment of Swedish troops were now re-embarked to repair by water to Stettin, the ancient capital and ducal residence of Pomerania, before which place they arrived and disembarked without opposition and in excellent order. Torquato di Conti, when he saw the King's drift, attempted to throw a body of troops into the place before he reached it, but his alert and energetic enemy was there before him. The town was immediately invested, when Colonel Damitz, the Governor, despatched a trumpeter conveying his desire to the Swedish army not to approach within gun-shot. The King having ascertained that the Duke himself was in Stettin, replied, "Tell Damitz, it is not my custom to treat with men of his stamp by the intervention of an interpreter." The Governor, puzzled with the inuendo couched in this answer, himself repaired to Gustavus, who cordially shook him by the hand, and, pointing to his troops, told him, "Behold, sir, there is the key of my admission." While the colloquy lasted between the King and Damitz, a concourse of magistrates and citizens flocked out of the fortress, curious to see the King, who, being informed that the burgomaster was amongst them, went up to him, and moving his hat, shook him heartily by the hand, telling him "he came to visit them and the good people of Germany in the character of a friend, and not in that of a king." During this interval Duke Bogislaus himself arrived in a sedan chair. The King, with his accustomed good-natured politeness, met him half-way. After some conference, the Pomeranian Sovereign, a poor and superannuated Prince, replied, "I must necessarily submit to superior power and the will of Providence;" to which speech Gustavus, touching him gently on the

shoulder, upon seeing the windows and walls of the palace crowded with ladies, rejoined with artful pleasantry, "Yonder fair defendants of your garrison would not hold out three minutes against one company of Dalicarnian infantry: you should behave yourself, cousin, with greater prowess in the married state (the Duke was already seventy years old, and had no issue), or else permit me to request you to adopt me for your son and successor." In this remark the King spoke his full meaning, and upon the old man's death in the course of the war, the Swedes held possession of Pomerania as his successors, and it was confirmed to them by the treaty of Munster[6]. When the Duke returned to the town, Lord Reay, Colonel of the Scottish brigade, was privately instructed by Gustavus to escort Bogislaus back in his chair, with due military honour, to his capital, and he, keeping close to him, entered the gates with 200 chosen Scotch musketeers, who immediately secured the outward gate, when the garrison submitted, and on the King's invitation at once enrolled themselves, to the number of 1200 men, amongst the Swedish army, where they were long known as the White Brigade. Gustavus ordered the officers and soldiers to pitch their tents on the ramparts, because he did not choose them to incommode or molest the citizens. The King himself took up his bed on board a ship that lay in the mouth of the Oder, saying, "That a furred cloak for a general, and clean straw for a soldier, made excellent beds for the subjects of a King who lay in a hammock." This happened to be a Saturday night, and on Sunday he went to the parade with his soldiers, and led them three times in the day to church, assigning this reason to his officers and soldiers, "That though war might be their amusement, yet religion was man's first business." The citizens were astonished at con-

[6] Harte.

duct so utterly at variance with that of the Imperial troops, and were so charmed with the King's right-minded conduct, affability, and kindness of manner, that they advanced His Majesty from their own private stores a very considerable subsidy of money.

Gustavus lays siege to Mecklenburg.

Gustavus, while he remained at Stettin, to settle the treaty with the Duke of Pomerania, began to be impatient for action, and despatched Baner, with Lord Reay's Scotchmen, to make themselves masters of Damm, a small fortress six miles distant. The inhabitants, upon hearing of the approach of these 1200 soldiers, like good politicians, sent Baner word, that, as a town taken by storm rarely escaped plunder and misery, they would leave a postern gate open to him in the night; which hint the General very prudently took, and passed into the fortress soon after sunset. Stargard, a stronger fortress not far distant, was in the hands of an Imperial Governor, who had lately imposed a heavy contribution on the inhabitants. Gustavus accordingly sent the White Brigade against it, who, fraternizing with the townsmen, scaled the walls; and the garrison soon capitulated. Here was captured a rich magazine of corn and provisions. Camin, a sea-port and an episcopal town on the promontory, also underwent the same fate. The Swedes were every where received with open arms, as well in town as in country; for they paid ready money for all they took, and respected private property on every march. The Imperialists, on pretence of cutting off the resources of the enemy, were ordered by Torquato di Conti to lay every place waste, and to plunder without compassion. Accordingly, every one of them that fell into the hands of the Pomeranian peasantry was remorselessly murdered. As it was now the middle of August, the King formed a general camp under the walls of Stettin, which he committed to the care of Gustavus Horn, and a reinforcement of 8000 troops was opportunely received

out of Livonia. He resolved, as his next enterprise, to attempt the conquest of Mecklenburg, which lies contiguous to Pomerania, partly with the desire of recovering the dominion that properly belonged to his kinsman, the deprived Duke, and partly with a view to insult Wallenstein in his new acquisition,—an enterprise that he knew would be highly popular with all the Princes of the Empire, and the possession of which would render him master of the entire shore of the Baltic.

Narrow escape of Gustavus near Damin.

Torquato di Conti, although an Italian by birth, had considerable Spanish pride in his composition, and professed to despise Gustavus, whom he loudly threatened with his intention to provide him good employment, and to teach him that he had left his laurels in the groves of Prussia. This man, though a braggart, was regarded as a good general; and, since he could not drive the King out of Stettin, he endeavoured to render its possession useless to him, by intrenching himself at Gartz, situated upon the Oder above Stettin, in order to cut off all communication between the Pomeranian capital and the rest of Germany. With Roman cautiousness, he dared not attack the Swedes, who were superior to him in numbers; but, with Spanish craft, he thought to overreach Gustavus by fraud and stratagem. One of his officers, of the name of Quinti, had amassed much ill-acquired wealth in Damin, which the Swedes were next about to besiege, and he was induced by Di Conti to carry out the cowardly scheme. This desperate character deserted by permission to the Swedes, and had the address to get admitted a Lieutenant-Colonel in Falkenberg's regiment. One day the King, with a very small escort, went out to view in person Torquato's lines, when Quinti galloped forward to apprise the Imperial General, who sent out 500 cuirassiers to form an ambuscade. These succeeded in enclosing the King and his entire Swedish escort in a narrow pass, whence they could neither advance nor retreat. No private soldier could make a braver defence than Gus-

tavus did; and, in spite of the disproportion of six to one, the Swedes kept firm to their leader, nor did a single man flinch. The King had two horses killed under him, and was obliged to fight hand to hand on foot. He would doubtless have been taken prisoner; but when they attempted to carry him off, he moved so sullenly that his companions had time to throw themselves around him in despair, and in the struggle recovered him, every man being alike determined to die or conquer for the person of their King. At length a Livonian Colonel in the army, who got uneasy at his master's non-appearance, despatched a troop of horse to obtain intelligence about him, and, finding what was the state of affairs, came up at the head of a considerable detachment, who routed the Neapolitans. An attempt was afterwards made by a German monk, at Di Conti's instigation, to deliver a packet of poisoned letters to the King; but that attempt was likewise detected and frustrated.

Capture of Colberg. Gustavus enters the Duchy of Mecklenburg.

A somewhat singular and curious accident brought the fortress of Rügenwalt, a large town with a good harbour, into the possession of the Swedes. Some 700 Scots, who were crossing the Baltic, under Robert Monro, to join the Swedish army, had the misfortune to be wrecked off that port. The Governor was a Pomeranian, who was, however, in command of an Imperial garrison; but this man listened to the proposition of Monro, who offered, with his shipwrecked companions, if he would leave open a postern gate at night, to clear the town of associates little agreeable to their two respective masters. By singular fortitude and presence of mind the scheme was successful; and Monro, having got inside the dismantled castle, maintained himself for the space of nine weeks, till his countryman, Colonel Hepburn, sent by Oxenstierna out of Livonia, arrived to his support with his regiment. Being soon afterwards joined by some Pomeranians and Swedes, under Kniphausen, they

blockaded Colberg; and the King, on being apprised of these strokes of fortune, observed that "he began to hope that the Supreme Being now gave marks of approbation in support of his cause."

The greater part of Pomerania being now secure, Gustavus, having previously secured Stolpe, embarked 12,000 chosen men at Stettin, and, passing Wolgast and Stralsund, surprised Barth, and then took by storm Riebnitz and Damgarten, which opened a passage for him into the Duchy of Mecklenburg; and as soon as he obtained this footing, he invited the inhabitants to disown Wallenstein as their Duke, and to return to their ancient line of princes. Meanwhile Torquato di Conti, to bring back the King, attacked Horn in his intrenchments at Stettin, but was there repulsed with considerable loss; and accordingly he despatched an army under the Duke of Savelli into the Duchy of Mecklenburg, in order to counteract the King's motions there. He however did no good by this division of his forces, and wasted the rest of the campaign in a sort of desponding inactivity. Perhaps he thought to give time to Tilly to hasten to the defence of the Principalities. Under these circumstances the Imperial General resolved to allow his army the repose of winter-quarters; but he found he had to do with an enemy who did not recognize the climate of Germany as a winter at all. Gustavus had had the forethought to provide his soldiers with coats of sheep-skin and other comforts, to enable them to keep the field in the most inclement season; and he said with pride, "My Swedes are soldiers in winter as well as in summer. The Imperialists are not to suppose that they will remain undisturbed." The piercing cold, however, produced such a general mortality amongst Torquato's army, that their numbers were daily diminished by desertion and death, and all discipline threatened to come to an end; so that their General resigned a command in which neither wealth nor reputation was to be acquired.

The Duke of Savelli's unsuccessful movements in the Duchy of Mecklenburg.

The remainder of his army were incessantly harassed in their winter-quarters by the Swedes after he quitted them, and were glad to withdraw out of Pomerania into Brandenburg, sacrificing much of their artillery and baggage, and losing many prisoners in their retreat. Savelli, however, acting for Wallenstein as Duke of Mecklenburg, and desirous of securing the good graces of that General, despatched 4000 men to cut a passage for themselves into Rostock, which detachment the Swedes encountered and handled very roughly; but nevertheless they succeeded in their object, and the King left Baner to keep them in that town blockaded.

Pappenheim, sent by Tilly, takes the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg prisoner at Ratzburg.

The ejected and exiled Dukes of Mecklenburg had ineffectually employed the Diet assembled at Ratisbon to intercede with the Emperor for their restoration to their Duchy. But driven to despair by Ferdinand's inflexibility, they now openly espoused the side of Sweden, and, raising troops, gave the command of them to the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg, who made himself master of several strong places on the Elbe, which induced Tilly to detach General Pappenheim to check him; which he did with little difficulty, for he contrived to shut him up in his own brother's town of Ratzburg, and he made him prisoner there. Gustavus, however, had in the mean time cut out other work for the Imperial General. The King had roused Prince Christian of Brandenburg, the Administrator of Magdeburg, to take up arms, and had given him letters of credit, for which he made himself responsible, to obtain the requisite funds. On this the magistrates and people of the city rallied round him, and he got together a force of infantry and cavalry amounting to 4500 men. With this force Christian had made some successful raids in the adjoining country; but Pappenheim, the most able and active of all the Imperial Generals, soon compelled such a novice in the art of war as the Administrator

to contract his sallies, and at length reduced him to shelter his forces within the city of Magdeburg, round which he formed his army in blockade.

Gustavus captures Greiffenhagen and Gartz.

On the 23rd of December, 1630, the King crossed the Oder, at a moment when his adversaries concluded him to be resting in winter-quarters; and, after reviewing his troops, and finding them to consist of 12,000 infantry, 85 squadrons of horse, and 70 pieces of cannon, he invested Greiffenhagen, at break of day, after a midnight march, although Schomberg lay with an army at Gartz, on the opposite bank of the river. The town of Greiffenhagen stands on the north-east side of the Oder, about twelve miles from Stettin; and, by means of its bridge, is the great communication between Pomerania and the marshes of Brandenburg. Gustavus sent a detachment with orders that it should intrench itself on the eastern foot of Gartz-bridge, to keep back Schomberg from sending to disturb him. His Majesty, having then examined the ground about Greiffenhagen, placed sixty pieces of large siege guns in battery, and, opening a heavy fire, soon made a breach, after which he battered the wall, so that with three practicable openings, each capable of admitting three men abreast, he ordered an assault, in which the Governor, Ferdinando di Capua, a Neapolitan, died bravely resisting the Swedes, who had some ado to extinguish the flames which a handful of the Imperialists had kindled in several places; but the town was secured, and given up to free plunder for four hours. Such, however, was the King's discipline, that, although he was obliged to gratify his men with spoil, no personal outrages were committed. Gustavus, immediately after Christmas-day, crossed the Oder, to attack Schomberg in his camp at Gartz, and finding a newly-constructed fort called Capua's Sconce, or Fort Morritz, in his way, he caused it to be carried with hardly any resistance. When preparing to proceed to Gartz, word was brought that the town was in flames; and it was

discovered that Schomberg had decamped, after having sunk his guns in the river, burned the bridge, and carried off his troops to Frankfort on the Oder, where he proposed to establish a camp. The Swedish army was soon on his traces, and roughly treated the rearguard under Colonel Spar, taking 300 baggage waggons. Frankfort was soon found too distant for him to escape to, so that he was fain to make haste to reach Kustrin, which opened its gates to him, and deprived Gustavus of the opportunity he expected of cutting off Schomberg's army before it could effect a junction with Tilly's.

Treaty of alliance between Sweden and France. Gustavus lays siege to Demmin.

The month of January, 1631, was opened with negotiations. The King, who was as industrious in the cabinet as in the field, entered into treaties with the Archbishop of Bremen, George Duke of Luneberg, William Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and concluded in the camp of Bernwalt, in the Marquisate of Brandenburg, the articles of alliance between France and Sweden, which had been projected the previous year. The principal articles of the treaty were, that His Majesty of Sweden should maintain an army on foot, consisting of 36,000 men, and that the French King should furnish him annually with 400,000 crowns, in two separate payments, at the choice of the King of Sweden. During the interval of negotiation, Leslie, with his Scottish men, rendered himself master of the Castle of Lignitz, of which Gustavus made him a present for a country villa; and, paying no regard to one of the most severe winters that Germany had felt for many years, several other acts of successful bravery under endurance were accomplished; until the King, being joined by Kniphausen, invested Demmin, a place of considerable importance on the banks of the Pene, which had been made the grand Imperial magazine on the shores of the Baltic, and of which no less a person than the Duke of Savelli had constituted himself Governor, having General Holk serving under him with 1700 veteran troops as garrison. His Majesty thundered against the

town from his batteries erected the first afternoon and night after the investment, and next morning sent Teufel to repulse a general sally that had been ordered by Savelli. In a few days Kniphausen made a lodgment on the fortifications, and obliged the garrison to withdraw to an old tower, of which it was thought the walls were so thick that cannon would have no effect upon them. Gustavus accordingly ordered it to be undermined, which was accomplished, in spite of the frost in the ground; and Holk, with seven companies, surrendered, and consented to enter the King's service. In this action one Heatly, an English officer, and Robert Ross, a Scottish officer, greatly distinguished themselves by their resolution and coolness. On the fourth morning Savelli sent to make proposals to the King, and concluded terms, by which he undertook not to serve against Sweden or its allies for three months.

Character of Savelli.

Tilly had written to beseech Savelli to hold out only four days longer, when he promised to come up to his assistance; and he was so enraged at his submission that he lodged a process against him at Vienna, which brought his life in question, but he was protected by the Emperor. When Savelli marched out with the garrison, Gustavus met him on horseback, and was astounded at seeing him dressed in a large periwig, afterwards called *chedreux*, when it had become the fashion. The foppery of it excited the disgust of Gustavus, who thought so fantastical a dress to be unworthy a soldier on the field, and therefore with some indignation told him "he was more fitted to shine in a drawing-room than on a field of battle." Savelli, however, though in outward appearance the fine gentleman, was not a worthy character. He was the oddest mixture imaginable of bigotry, cruelty, and rapine. He was considered as one of the Inquisitors-General, rather than a General Governor in Mecklenburg, for he took proceedings to allow no child in the Duchy to receive the rite

of baptism from the hands of a Lutheran minister, and troubled the religious scruples of the community, while he was sordid and avaricious in plundering the country. At one time it happened that a number of horses was received as contributions from the gentry and farmers of the district, when, not thinking them from their leanness and ill plight to be worth selling or worth redeeming, he had them killed and flayed, and put the money obtained for the hides into his own pocket [7].

The Elector of Brandenburg resists the Imperialists.

The Imperialists had now thrown themselves into the marshes of Brandenburg, which accordingly became the theatre of the most barbarous atrocities. These outrages were inflicted upon a Prince, who, though a Protestant, had not taken up arms against the Emperor; and it was the worse policy, because there existed many concurrent reasons for expecting that the Elector might be incited in consequence of them to take up arms for the King. At length, in spite of his most pressing remonstrances, being left without redress or under a force sufficient to repress the disorders or protect his territories from the excesses of the mercenaries, the Elector issued an edict, ordering his subjects to repel force by force, and to put to death without mercy every Imperial soldier who might henceforth be detected in plundering.

Siege and capture of New Brandenburg by the Imperialists, and of Frankfort on the Oder by the Swedes.

As soon as Tilly, marching up from Frankfort on the Oder, to raise the siege of Demmin, heard of its fall, he turned aside to New Brandenburg. This place was garrisoned by Kniphausen with 2000 Swedes and British, who had been ordered by Gustavus to retire. This man was an approved commander of the King's—a soldier of slow, but excellent parts, whose principle was to leave something to fortune, and to say, "Come what may, a grain of good luck is better than an ounce of good sense." Not receiving the King's commands

[7] Harte.

to give the place up, he felt certain that he should be relieved, because he was quite destitute of artillery to make a long defence. He therefore acquitted himself like a good soldier, and for some days endured the pelting storm of Tilly's guns, which made little impression upon the walls. It was now the eighth day after the bombardment had begun, when Raymond Count di Montecucculi, then in his twenty-eighth year, discovered a hole in the wall, into which he led some troops rashly and without orders; but being well supported, he succeeded in securing the gates, and presented the city keys to the astonished General before he had learned the attack. Gustavus, however, was pleased with Kniphausen for his fidelity, and would often afterwards remark of him, "This is the man who defended a walled village against Tilly." The King was, however, enraged that the Imperial General had put to the sword 2000 Swedes and Germans. He had arrived as far as Anklam on the Pene, on his way to relieve Kniphausen, when he heard of this massacre, and avowed that he would make Tilly behave more like a person of humanity than a savage Croatian. Tilly, however, passed on westward unchecked, to join Pappenheim under the walls of Magdeburg, while Gustavus, with 18,000 men, 200 pieces of cannon, and a pontoon train 180 feet long, hastened eastward to get possession, if possible, of Frankfort on the Oder, of which General Tieffenback, who was Camp-Master-General of the Imperial army, was constituted Governor. The place was invested on the 1st of April, "veteri Germanorum consuetudine ludibrii plena die." The King, being in haste lest Tilly should come back upon him, would neither construct lines nor approaches, nor leave the enemy much time for reflection, but determined to storm the town sword in hand. A battery of twelve heavy guns was opened upon the Guber Gate, and several other batteries played at the same time to create a diver-

sion, while the yellow and blue brigades got ready for an assault with the white brigade in support, and the Rhinegrave, with the cavalry, protected the rest of the artillery, and kept a sharp eye on the road that Tilly might be likely to advance upon. Gustavus himself, calling on Hepburn and Lumsden by name, to assist him with their "valiant Scots, and to remember Brandenburg," placed a petard on the Guber Gate, and shivered it to pieces with such effect on the nerves of the defenders, that they forgot to let fall the portcullis, and the Swedes, instantly rushing in, formed themselves up as quickly as the narrow street would allow, and went forward. At length the yellow and blue brigades—two bodies of troops the most highly esteemed in the Swedish army—got inside, and the Imperialist garrison was cut to pieces. Tieffenback and Schomberg escaped over the bridge, and conducted their flying troops to Great Glogau, in Silesia, nearly sixty miles distant: 1700 of the garrison were left dead in the town, fifty colours were captured, and a great many officers taken prisoners. His Majesty took infinite pains to prevent pillage, and exercised his baton on the heads of the assailants without remorse. But the town was known to be the depository of all the ill-gotten wealth of the Imperialists, and the men could not be restrained. Ten baggage waggons were taken, containing the plate and money belonging to the generals; eighteen pieces of great ordnance, and 900 quintals of gunpowder were found in the arsenal.

Interview with the Elector at Berlin. Tilly and Pappenheim effect a junction.

The King confided the charge of Frankfort to Leslie, with directions to repair and improve the fortifications; and then, having despatched the Rhinegrave and Bauditzen with a flying corps into Silesia, and ordered Dietrich Falkenberg, an experienced officer, to make the best of his way back, and get into Magdeburg, to direct the Administrator's military operations there with his counsel, Gustavus thought fit to turn back, and

look after his friends—the two Electors—of whose fidelity he had some misgivings. On the way he turned aside a little, on the 16th of April, to attack and carry Landsberg on the Warthe; he now sent before him Count Ortemberg, and, after him, Gustavus Horn, with some troops, to Berlin, on a mission to the Elector: they were directed to require from him the occupation of Kustrin and Spandau, as also subsistence and pay for his army. He followed them quickly in person, to make his demands more effectual upon his brother-in-law, at the head of a flying escort of five squadrons and four guns. His Majesty and the Elector met about a mile from Berlin, where they were joined by Albert Duke of Mecklenburg; but they had made no way in any accommodation, until the Electress, his mother-in-law, and the ladies of the Court, came into the house in which they were assembled. Terms were then soon agreed upon, and Gustavus was invited to dine and sleep in Berlin, under the protection of his own guard[8]. The King only succeeded, however, in obtaining agreement to the appointment of his own officer, Colonel Axel Lilly, as Governor of Spandau, but could not obtain possession of Kustrin for a longer period than a month; nor could he persuade the Elector, by the most eloquent appeals to his Protestantism, to join him in an immediate attempt for the relief of Magdeburg. Gustavus, however, carried forward his army to Potsdam, and thence sent to request John George of Saxony to join him with his forces, or else to permit his army to march through his Electorate, in order to raise the siege; both which requests this Prince denied him, alleging that the Imperial troops coming up out of Italy, under the command of Aldringer, would shortly be upon him. The Elector was equally deaf to the

[8] The great Frederick relates that when his ancestor was remonstrated with for his concessions, he said, "Mais que faire? Ils ont des canons," an argument which to the mind of the Elector George William it was impossible to gainsay.

solicitations contained in a second letter from the King, far more urgent than the former; but the poor potentate seemed as one petrified with alarm, and would only grant Gustavus permission to transport provisions and powder through his dominions to the distressed garrison at Magdeburg[9].

Political consequences of the fall of Magdeburg.

The King was still at Potsdam on the 10th of May, in the midst of all his negotiations, when he was apprised of the fall of Magdeburg. Tilly, while he was yet uncertain of mastering the place, and was apprehensive of the further advance of Gustavus, with, it has been thought, unworthy precipitation ordered the bridge of Dessau, at the confluence of the Mulda and the Elbe, to be destroyed, to protect his rear. But this timid precaution now prevented him from advancing against his foe in the open field, or from obstructing the conquests of the Swedes on the other side of the river; moreover, the Imperialist army now marched away through the Harz forest, which left both the fluctuating Electors without Imperial support, entirely under the influence of the King.

The King's inaction blamed.

Throughout Germany the dreadful fate inflicted at this time by the conqueror on the population of Magdeburg spread terror and consternation among the Protestants; and the inaction of Gustavus for their relief was the subject of loud and general complaint against the "Bulwark of the Protestant faith." Full justice was not, however, done to the wondrous performances of the "Lion of the North." In eight months' time he had made himself master of fourscore cities, forts, and castles, and had cleared the whole country behind him to the shores of the Baltic—a district nearly 140 miles in breadth. This "King of

[9] This place, so celebrated for its most unmerited sufferings at the hands of Tilly in the Seven Years' War, derives its name of *Maiden-town* from the worship of Venus, for which it was celebrated, until converted to Christianity, with the rest of Saxony, by Charlemagne.

Snow," as the German Emperor's councillors called him, in misplaced derision, was at the same time continuing to gain ground every hour. His army in the same period had increased from 20,000 to nearly 40,000 men; and his troops in reserve in Sweden, consisting of 25,000 soldiers, were now very efficient from their discipline, and ready to cross the Baltic when required. But the position Gustavus held in Germany made it necessary that he should not move forward without securing his flanks and rear; a single premature movement might interrupt all communication with his own kingdom. But he had other impediments which prevented him from rendering the assistance which was required and expected of him. Two routes led to Magdeburg: the one, on which the enemy might dispute with him the passage of the Elbe; the other, where the bridges at Dessau and Wittenberg would enable him to cross that river. But he could not adopt this latter route, nor avail himself of the supplies of Saxony, without the concurrence of the Sovereigns of the two Electorates through which he must pass, both of whom, if not hostile, were at least to be mistrusted. At the same time, lest he should lose irretrievably the good will of the people for whose deliverance he had entered upon the war, Gustavus thought himself under the necessity of publishing to the world a justification of his conduct. Injurious, however, as were the immediate consequences of the fall of Magdeburg, its remoter effects were most advantageous to the Protestant cause. Active resentment at the conduct of the Emperor and the Imperial General arose after the first consternation had a little subsided. Despair inspired courage, and the ultimate liberty and freedom of Germany arose like a phœnix out of the ashes of that ill-fated town [1].

The King reinstates the Duke of Mecklenburg.

Among the Princes of the Leipzig Confederation, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse were

[1] Schiller.

still lukewarm in the Emperor's interests, as well as in those of Gustavus; but Hesse was already "pronouncing;" and against the latter, therefore, Tilly proceeded from Magdeburg through Thuringia; and, crossing the Harz forest, he advanced onwards as far as Erfurt. Meanwhile the King quitted Berlin, and, making a speedy visit to Stettin, marched on to Gustrow, having resolved to avail himself of the absence of the Imperialist General to reinstate the two proscribed Princes of Mecklenburg. As that age loved pomp, he determined that their inauguration should be as splendid as circumstances would admit of. The clergy, the senators, and the nobility, headed the procession. Then came the elder Duke, dressed in a court suit of mourning, attended by thirty-six halberdiers. After the Sovereign, who was preceded by a band of trumpeters, followed the King of Sweden on horseback, dressed in green, with a blue and white plume in his hat. He was attended by twenty-four running footmen, and by an escort of cavalry. The junior Duke marched after, attended by Prince Ulric of Denmark, the Dukes of Pomerania and Courland, and all the Princes and Princesses of the House of Mecklenburg. A body of ladies and gentlemen, in 130 coaches, and 1800 cavaliers well mounted and well habited, closed the procession. This cavalcade marched first to the great Church, where divine service was performed, and afterwards to the Town-hall, where the Chancellor, Oxenstierna, made an oration, and exhorted all to disclaim Wallenstein, and acknowledge their natural masters.

Gustavus advances against Tilly.

The King, who never for a moment removed his thoughts from the transactions of the campaign, now returned without delay to his camps at and near New Brandenburg, and, adopting another plan of taking advantage of his adversary's absence, he crossed the Elbe in the first days of July, and advanced to the very bridge of Magdeburg. This obliged Pappenheim, who was there in command, to withdraw within the

town; and he was indeed so much alarmed at this inroad of Gustavus, that he anxiously called back Tilly to his assistance, and prevailed upon him to return by rapid marches to Magdeburg; which proceedings checked the movements of the King.

Tilly therefore appeared at Wolmerstadt at the moment when Gustavus, on the same side of the river, was most judiciously encamped at Werben, not far from the confluence of the Havel and the Elbe. On the 17th, the Swedes routed three or four of the Imperial regiments, and burned or captured their baggage. This induced Tilly to offer the King battle; but Gustavus, deeming his position strong, and that he was not in sufficient force to hazard an attack, declined it. However, in order to secure himself where he was, he commanded Baner to take Havelburg by assault, since by possessing that place he secured the western bank of that river as far as Spandau. The attack was made at daybreak, and the blue brigade, under Winkel, crossed the river with astonishing resolution, though the water was up to the men's shoulders. The action was brisk while it lasted; but the place yielded with 440 prisoners, without much loss to the Swedes. While Gustavus was at Werben, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had just narrowly escaped a visit from Tilly, arrived in the King's camp,—the first German Sovereign who had voluntarily and openly joined Gustavus. A treaty was speedily concluded between the two Sovereigns, and Hesse Cassel adhered to the Swedish alliance during the whole of the remainder of the war.

Tilly enters Saxony, which declares for the Protestant Union.

The Queen of Sweden landed at Wolgast with 8000 men, and joined her illustrious husband in the camp at Werben, just the very day twelvemonth on which they had separated in Sweden. But Tilly also received a reinforcement of 18,000 men under Furstenberg, and now sent his orders to the Elector of Saxony to open his territories to the Imperial troops; and either to

disband his army or unite it with the army of the Emperor, in order that he might lend a hand to drive the intruder out of Germany: and he threatened, in case of refusal, the most destructive ravages upon the Electorate. John George, who had by no means cordially welcomed the Swedes, was not disposed to admit so imperious a requisition, but in reply contented himself for the moment with forbidding the quartering of the Imperial troops within his territories. Tilly, in consequence, broke up his camp to carry out his threat, and with the most frightful devastation carried his army to Halle, where he renewed his demands upon the Elector in a style still more peremptory and threatening; for he demanded that the passage of the Elbe at the bridge of Wittenberg should be yielded to him. The Saxon Elector, rendered desperate by this, and by the appeals of his suffering people, immediately despatched Field-Marshal Arnheim to the camp of Gustavus, to solicit the prompt assistance of the monarch, whom he had hitherto neglected, and so long tacitly opposed. "I am sorry for the Elector," replied the King, who could scarcely conceal the satisfaction he felt at this long wished-for result; "had His Highness heeded my repeated remonstrances, his country would never have seen the face of an enemy, and Magdeburg would not have fallen. But I will not ruin my own cause for the sake of the Elector of Saxony, who may abandon me as soon as the Emperor flatters him, and withdraws his troops from his frontiers. Tilly, it is true, has received strong reinforcements; but this shall not prevent me from meeting him in the field with confidence as soon as I have covered my rear, and am otherwise prepared to attack him." He nevertheless gave Arnheim to understand, that he was ready to act with his master on certain concessions and advances made on the Elector's part. "I require," said Gustavus, "that the Elector shall cede to me the fortress of Wittenberg, that the Electoral Prince shall serve in

my army as a hostage, that my troops shall be supplied with three months' pay, and" (knowing that the Elector had an Austrian faction among his councillors, of whom Arnheim the negotiator was thought to be one) "I must require that all traitors shall be delivered up to me, that I may myself judge and punish them." John George readily and promptly acceded to these terms, and the King invited him, together with his brother-in-law the Elector of Brandenburg, to meet him at Torgau in a council of war; they assembled there to determine upon the course they should immediately adopt; for Tilly with 44,000 veterans had now invested Leipzig, and had threatened it with the fate of Magdeburg.

The Saxons join the Swedes against Tilly.

Both Harte and Schiller profess to give the grand political debate which took place at Torgau at this juncture. There is no doubt that the "Snow King," who had by this time become a veritable snow-ball (*vires acquirit eundo*), had by the alliances which he had cemented with the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, attained a secure and well-supported position in the north of Germany. It was necessary, however, to deal with his new associates with a good deal of tact, for he suspected the selfishness of his new allies, and therefore began by working upon their fears. "Shall we resolve upon battle? Fortune is changeable, and heaven may, for our sins, give the victory to our enemies. I may be safe under the worst consequences of a defeat; but what chances of escape are there for you? If we should happen to be overcome, you Princes are lost beyond redemption." Gustavus, having thus spoken with the modest diffidence of a hero and as an experienced statesman, saw that the Elector of Saxony, smarting under the indignities he had received, was impatient and moved to the last degree at seeing his country oppressed by the presence of contending armies, and depopulated by the excesses

of the Imperialists, and, overcoming all his fears, earnestly longed for a battle. So that, after some minor objections and representations, this was determined upon. No general could have acted with more coolness and judgment than Gustavus Adolphus. He had prepared in his mind for this result, and for speedy action. The bridge of Wittenberg being in his hands, he had already issued orders to Horn and Baner to meet him at this place of rendezvous, about sixteen miles from thence; Colonel Hay had been directed to occupy Havelburg; while Bauditzen was now desired to remain in charge of the camp at Werben. The King, however, with the delicacy of a man of honour and station, kept all his troops on the western bank of the Elbe, that he might leave the Saxon army encamped on the right bank until he obtained from the Elector his authority in writing to cross the bridge. The united Swedish and Saxon armies then crossed the Mulda early on the morning of the 7th of September, 1631, before, it is said, Tilly knew any thing of the junction of the Saxons, and the hostile armies came in presence of each other on the plain of Breitenfeld, a small town about four miles from Leipzig.

The battle of Leipzig: the Swedes victorious.

The King's Governor of that city, one Vopel, had weakly yielded it up to the Imperialist General two days previously; and the Castle of Pleisenberg had surrendered after about a week's resistance in the same disgraceful manner. Aldringer and Tieffenback were also at this time hourly expected to arrive from Erfurt with reinforcements. Tilly was disposed to await them, and, if possible, avoid a battle until they should come up. Gustavus, however, on the other hand, was intent on bringing matters to an issue, and had left all his baggage and tents behind him in his camp, because he hoped to keep the ardour of his men upon the alert, and thought it would do them no harm at this season to sleep in the open field without their tents. His Majesty having then arranged his order of battle, called round

him his generals the evening before the action, and told them "they were about to fight to-morrow troops all of them of a different stamp from the Polanders or Cossacks to which they had been hitherto opposed. Fellow-soldiers," he said, "I will not dissemble the danger of the crisis. You will have a day's work that will be worthy of you, It is not my temper to diminish the merit of veteran troops like the Imperialists; but I know my own officers well, and scorn the thought of deceiving them. Our numbers are perhaps inferior; but God is just; and remember Magdeburg." The King then mounted his horse, and rode through the ranks of his army with that peculiar cheerfulness and confidence in his manner which was his characteristic, and returned to get an hour or two's sleep in his coach (when it is recorded by all historians that he dreamed of a pugilistic conflict with Tilly, in which he *floored him*). But at dawn of day he was on horseback again, and reconnoitring the position of the two armies. The Swedes counted 7000 horse and 8000 foot; and the Saxons 11,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. The Imperialist army exceeded the numbers of the Swedes and Saxons combined by between 5000 and 10,000 men.

As the Confederate army determined to make the attack, the Imperial General had the choice of the ground; and he adopted the slope of a gently rising hill to the south-west of Podelwitz. It was thought in those days to be of great advantage in the defence to have both sun and wind in your favour; and these Tilly had appropriately considered. Behind his position was a large wood. The Imperialists wore white ribbons in their hats and helmets; and the Confederates sprigs of oak or holly. Two highways passed through and across the field of battle. The Imperial line made only one extensive front from Soehausen to Lindenthal, having neither second line nor reserve. The artillery was placed on the eminences that rose behind their position. The Confederate army was drawn up on the

plain—the Saxon army on the left, upon and behind an eminence crowned by their guns, and the Swedes in distinct peletons, all acting together, but each under chieftains of their own, and so commanded as to have the power of moving rapidly from place to place, thus contributing to the King's power by massing the whole when required on one point. This endeavour to make his army a piece of machinery in his own hand on the day of battle was a distinction of the King's creative genius, since adopted by every one, but here practised for the first time; and many other expedients in the tactics of his army equally showed his peculiarly careful attention to details[2]. The musketeers and horsemen were either mixed together in a column, or, when moving forward in line, the infantry were flanked by cavalry. Some of these expedients were, however, rather resorted to as calculated to confound the enemy's tactics of that time, than as permanent discoveries in war. The King was also better served with intelligence than the Imperialist General, so that he came against Tilly with many advantages unshared by the latter.

Gustavus totally routs the Imperialists at Leipzig.

The Swedish and Saxon armies advanced to the attack in compact columns, in order to pass the Loder near Podelwitz, where Pappenheim, almost in spite of his General's wishes and instructions, fell upon them in their march, at the head of 2000 cuirassiers. The King, clothed in a new suit of grey cloth, wearing a green plumage on his beaver, and mounted on a horse of the colour called "flea-bitten" (*poil d'étourneau*), might be distinctly recognized by friend and foe as he moved forward at the head of his horse to the encounter of Pappenheim, and His Majesty pushed his onset with a degree of resolution and fury that could scarcely be exceeded, for he was desirous to get the wind in his favour, and to secure the left flank

[2] It has been stated that the fine disposition of his army made by Gustavus in the battle of Leipzig added more to the art of war than any that had been adopted since the time of Julius Cæsar.

from a battery that traversed it obliquely. In the end the Imperialist left wing was obliged to a precipitate retreat, in which they set fire to Podelwitz; but this incident did not in the least prevent the forward advance of the Swedes, who readily passed through the burning buildings. About a quarter of an hour later in the day, Count Furstenberg, advancing to the attack from the Imperial right, fell upon the Saxon army, also without the order of his superior, and after a short conflict broke them; and Tilly, thinking the moment favourable to complete the destruction of Arnheim, descended from the hill on which he had placed himself, and carried forward the centre, and was thus tempted to follow the Saxons farther than a good commander ought to have done. But not content with this advantage, he fell heavily on the Swedish division of Horn, whose left was exposed by the flight of the Saxons, but who showed him a very spirited resistance. At this opportune moment Gustavus came up, and, witnessing the misbehaviour and defeat of the Saxons, sent a message to Teufel to close in with a reinforcement of three regiments to the aid of the Saxons, but that brave officer was struck dead by a musket-ball just as he was receiving the order. The King therefore took his place, and, riding up to lead them, cheered them forward, crying aloud, "Vivat! vivat!" The enemy was seen to relax greatly under the vigour of this attack. At the same moment the King discovered, from the clouds of dust that annoyed him, that some large masses of troops were near him; and, asking those around him what they were, he was told that they were *Swedes*. But as he could not understand how that could be in his order of battle, he galloped right up to them, and, though his sight was rather imperfect, he quickly returned, and rapidly organized his troops to receive their attack. "They are Imperialists," he said; "I see the Burgundian cross on their ensigns." It was said, that it was on this occa-

sion that the two Scottish regiments, under Hepburn and Monro[3], first practised firing in platoons, which, from being unknown hitherto, amazed and annoyed the enemy to such a degree that, although they were the celebrated Walloon infantry, under the valiant Cronenberg, they fell off in haste. It was now some minutes after four o'clock, when the King, having no longer an enemy to oppose, wheeled rapidly his whole right wing to the left, and fell with all his might upon the heights on which the Imperialist artillery was placed; when, instantly gaining possession of the guns, he ordered the fire of their own cannon to be turned upon the enemy. Gustavus then ordered forward his whole centre to aid this fortunate incident, and the play of the guns, and the terrible onset of the Swedes, just at the fall of dusk, threw the whole army into confusion, when the hitherto unconquerable Walloons, now reduced to 600 men, had nothing left them but to retreat from the field under the protection of the darkness. With them fled the wreck of Tilly's army, and the victory was complete[4].

Behaviour of Gustavus after his victory.

Amidst the dead and the wounded, Gustavus Adolphus at once threw himself down on his knees, and the first joy of his success gushed forth in fervent thanksgiving to the Almighty Giver of victory. Although it was six o'clock, he ordered his cavalry to pursue the enemy through the midst of the increasing darkness, and desired that the alarm-bells should be every where set in motion to notify his victory to all the neighbouring villages. The camp of the enemy was found standing, and there he encamped with his army. Almost all the baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors, in which was much ill-acquired plunder. Indeed, it was said that there was hardly a soldier among the killed

[3] In this battle there are said to have been thirty colonels, fifty-two lieutenant-colonels, and fourteen majors, all Scotchmen, of the families of Leslies, Ramsays, Mackays, and Monros, including, of course, the classic major Dalgetty.

[4] Schiller.

and wounded who had less than ten ducats in his pocket, or concealed within his girdle or saddle. The King directed each of his regiments to occupy the same ground that had been held by an Imperial regiment, and to possess themselves of all they might find there; but no man was allowed to plunder out of his own district, under the most severe military pains and penalties. 7000 of the enemy lay dead on the field; and 5000 prisoners, with all the Imperialist artillery and 100 standards and cornets, were the prize of the victors. The Elector of Brandenburg had quitted the army before the battle; and the Elector of Saxony, who had kept out of it while it raged, joined Gustavus in his camp at night. The King welcomed him cordially, and gave him all the credit of having advised the battle, since he could not add any commendations on the conduct of the Saxon troops; and the Elector, charmed with his reception, in his enthusiasm and in the first transports of his joy, promised to Gustavus the Roman crown. However, His Swedish Majesty was not a man to sit down in a day-dream of future greatness; for it was his principle to be always up and stirring. He recommended George Frederick to look after the possession of Leipzig, while he himself set forward with his army for Merseburg. Both places surrendered, as well as Halle; and, as the Confederate army required repose, and the enjoyment of their laurels, he rested his troops in their camp for ten days. Many Protestant Princes, as well as the Elector of Saxony, now joined the King in council; for it was necessary to concert future plans of operations. The principal Imperial army that had held the field was now totally routed; and Tilly was required to collect another army in Lower Saxony. The two Electorates were accordingly free from any enemy. To pursue Tilly was deemed loss of time, for he was, at all events for the present, quite disabled. Two courses were therefore open to the Confederates, who agreed after some

discussion to adopt both. The Elector of Saxony was to carry his army by Prague; or even to Vienna itself, which it was thought might, in the first terror of surprise, open its gates. Gustavus had no great expectations that Arnheim, of whose military talents the battle of Leipzig had afforded but equivocal proof, would succeed in this bold design; and he himself considered that more solid advantages to the cause might be obtained from an incursion into the territories of the Princes of the Catholic League. He accordingly chose the alternative for himself to lead his victorious army to the Rhine. At this very conjuncture it happened that the German Princes were assembled in a Diet at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to deliberate upon the "Edict of Restitution;" and the King thought that his appearance in arms might attract the discontented Princes to his side, or that the terror of his approach might paralyze the nerves of the Imperial power. Here, in the centre of Germany, or upon the confines of France, he might cultivate the friendship of the Roman Catholic Electors, or watch the movements of a rather suspicious ally, whose cordiality amid the shifting phases of the war could never be surely predicated. Cardinal Richelieu ever weaved a web that none of his contemporaries could unravel. The Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg, as well as the Prince of Anhalt, readily espoused the cause of the King of Sweden, and promised their influence, and to contribute towards the expenses of the war. The King of Poland and the King of Denmark, whatever might be their cordiality, offered their incense of congratulation to the triumphant hero. The King sent Chemnitz into the circle of Suabia, to sound the princes in those parts, who acquitted himself very successfully in this embassy, by bringing them also to his standard.

Gustavus takes Erfurt and Marienberg.

Ten days after the battle of Leipzig Gustavus reached Erfurt, where the magistrates told him that His Majesty was welcome, but begged to be excused

admitting a garrison. The King's reply was, "that it was not his custom to call strangers to be his guards, and to place himself in a situation to receive laws from other men;" and he forthwith ordered Duke William of Saxe Weimar to take possession of the city. He then sent back to the camp at Werben to desire his Queen Eleonora to come forward as far as this city, while he himself proceeded to the reduction of Franconia. The Swedish army then proceeded to cross the Thuringian forest in two columns by Gotha and Arnstadt. The difficulty of carrying the artillery and carriages through this dangerous defile was sufficient to have dismayed any general less enterprising than Gustavus Adolphus. Königshöfen Schweinfurt, and soon afterwards Wurzburg, yielded up their keys to him, and the Roman Catholic Bishop of the latter place, who was a leading member of the League, hastened to get out of the way of the anger of the Protestant King. The Bishop of Bamberg promised to contribute to the King the same contingent he paid the army of the League; but as soon as Tilly came again upon the scene he fell away, and renounced all his obligations. The Swedes were obliged to carry Marienberg by storm, for a great part of the wealth of the diocese was here deposited, as well as the money which the Elector of Bavaria had sent to Tilly for the purpose of enabling him to restore his shattered army. The city was easily captured, and corn and other provisions, with great store of wine, fell into the hands of the Swedish army. Information was given to the commissaries of an unexpected hiding-place. A coffin well filled with ducats was about to be removed into safe custody, when the bottom gave way with the weight. The soldiers, not respecting the King's presence, began to pick these up as they rolled on the floor, to convert them to their own use. "Oh, I see how it is," said the King; "it is plain they must have it: let the rogues convert them to their own

use;" for he saw that it was quite impossible to prevent it.

The Count of Hanau joins Gustavus.

While Gustavus ordered Marienberg to be invested, Tilly, who had by this time collected out of the Palatinate a new army, came back as far as Fulda. From his camp here he now requested the Duke of Bavaria's permission to give battle to Gustavus; but as the League had at this moment no second army to fall back upon if he should suffer another defeat, Maximilian therefore was too cautious to risk the fate of a second battle, however much Tilly might burn with impatience to wipe out the stain of the first. Commanded therefore to avoid a battle, Tilly contented himself with marching round to save the few towns that had yet resisted the impetuosity of the Swedes. The King took scarcely more time to conquer Franconia than he would have required to cross it. He therefore now left Gustavus Horn to guard his conquests, and hastened towards the Rhine with his whole army. Following the course of the Maine, he reduced to subjection, in the course of his march, Seligenstadt, Aschaffenburg, and the whole territory on both sides of the river. The Imperial garrisons seldom awaited his approach to yield up their keys, and never attempted resistance. One of his subordinates was fortunate enough to capture by surprise the town and citadel of Hanau, for whose preservation Tilly had shown great anxiety, for he knew how lightly Imperial fidelity sat upon its prince. The Count of Hanau gladly placed himself at once under the orders of the King of Sweden; and he, being no inconsiderable member of the Protestant Union, made over all his passes and fortresses to the Confederate cause, and agreed to pay a contingent of £2500 a month during the continuance of the war, and to recall all his retainers then serving under the Emperor.

Frankfort surrenders.

Gustavus now turned his whole attention to Frank-

fort-on-the-Maine. He marched forward till he reached Offenbach, at no great distance from the free city, from whence he sent the Count de Solanes to negotiate his admission. Willingly would the magistrates have dispensed with the necessity of choosing between the King of Sweden and the Kaiser; for, whatever party they might embrace, there was always reason to apprehend injury to their privileges and trade. The Imperial vengeance would assuredly fall heavily upon them if they hastily submitted to the King: and still more ruinous would it be for them to incur the displeasure of an irresistible conqueror at their very gate. They therefore entreated Gustavus to consider their legitimate oaths to the Emperor, and to leave their town in a state of neutrality, on account of their annual fairs, which were the chief means of their commercial existence. The King, in reply, expressed his astonishment that, when the liberties of Germany were at stake, and the Protestant religion in jeopardy, they should convey to his ears such an odious sentiment as neutrality; and that the citizens of Frankfort should talk of annual fairs, as if they regarded all things merely as tradesmen and merchants, rather than as men of the world with a Christian conscience. He added, in a more menacing tone, "that he had found the keys of many a town and fortress from the Isle of Rugen on the Baltic to the banks of the Maine, and knew well where to find a key to Frankfort." The inhabitants, alarmed at his threat, then interceded for time to consult the Elector of Mayence, their ecclesiastical sovereign. But the King answered that, being himself master of Aschaffenburg, there was no other Elector of Mayence than Gustavus, and that they must rely upon his power for plenary absolution. "The inhabitants," he said, "might desire only to stretch out their little finger to him, but he would be content with nothing but the whole hand, that he might have sufficient to grasp." When the deputies retired from his presence with this answer, he

put his whole army in motion and followed them in order of battle to Saxenhausen, a pleasing and elegant suburb of the city; and here the magistrates succumbed to him, and, after taking an oath of fidelity, they opened their gates to the Swedes. It had been an ancient saying in Germany, "that he who possesses Frankfort a year and a day is master of the empire." The King, therefore, deemed it politic to make a public and solemn entry into the free city. The army marched in admirable order, with him in front of it riding on horseback, having his head uncovered, to show his respect to the Imperial city, preceded by fifty-six pieces of artillery, out of respect to his army. The entire body of troops did not number less than 14,000 men. The magistracy conducted him to the Imperial palace of Braunfels, where he sat down to a grand dinner, in the famous hall in which the Emperor banquets at his coronation. His manner was most courteous and affable, but he hated flattery; and when some of the burghers affected extreme submission, and spoke in a style of idle compliment, he would desire them to reserve that sort of discourse for Her Majesty and her maids of honour. His own beautiful Queen Eleonora, whom he had left at the camp at Werben, and who had since passed much tedious time at Berlin and Erfurt, while Gustavus was in the midst of danger and the battle-field, now came up to share her husband's triumph at Frankfort; and, in her delight at seeing her hero safe again, threw her arms around him, while she exclaimed, "Now is Gustavus the Great become my prisoner!"

Gustavus lays siege to Mayence, and compels Tilly to raise the siege of Nuremberg.

But while the Swedish King was thus extending his conquests, fortune was also seconding the efforts of his generals and allies in other parts of Germany. The Landgrave William of Hesse Cassel, whose victorious arms had struck with terror the greater part of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and who had forcibly taken possession of the Palatinate, the Bishopric of Fulda, and the Electorate of Cologne, now brought up all the

troops he could spare, about 6000 foot and 3000 horse, to assist Gustavus in his contemplated design of passing across the Rhine. On the very day of his entry into Frankfort the King invested the strong town of Hoechst, which surrendered to him the next day. His Majesty then marched directly to Mayence; and, having made himself master of all the boats upon the Rhine and Maine, he prepared at Hoechst the means of carrying his troops across the former river, while he took steps to get possession of the electoral capital. Bishop Anselm Casimir was, of course, an important member of the League, and a devoted partisan of the Emperor; but he was a Prince of energy and foresight, and, sensible that he could expect little mercy from the King, he had ordered the fortifications of the city to be repaired with all diligence, and received as a garrison 2000 Spaniards, under Don Philip de Sylvan; then carrying off all his most precious effects, he quitted Mayence to visit his brother at Cologne. These vigorous preparations to sustain a siege did not, however, prevent the King from undertaking it. The city was invested in the midst of as severe a winter as had ever been known. One body of troops poured into the Rheingau, from whence they expelled what Spanish troops they found there: the main army encamped at Cassel; and Gustavus was taking active measures to blockade the town on the opposite side of the Rhine, when he received intelligence that Nuremberg was hard pressed by Tilly. The Imperial General had sat down before that place especially to draw Gustavus away from the Rhine; and, lest he should expose himself a second time to the reproaches of Germany for abandoning a confederate city to a ferocious enemy, Gustavus resolved to hasten to its relief by forced marches. The inhabitants had, however, raised a little army for its relief, of which they had given the command to the Count de Solmes, as Governor on behalf of the King; and these had made so spirited a re-

sistance, that Tilly was compelled to draw off his army to place them in winter-quarters: on hearing which the King did not lose a moment in stopping the march of his troops, and prosecuting his designs against Mayence. While then he advanced his approaches on the left bank of the Rhine, the Landgrave moved forward his on the right. The besieged Spaniards, though hemmed in on both sides, displayed at first a bold determination to resist. But, nevertheless, the Swedes continually gained ground, and had at last advanced so close to the ditch that they were preparing to storm the place. To save the town from all the horrors of an assault, and the known spirit of retaliation for the carnage of Magdeburg, which was rife in every Protestant bosom, the Spanish garrison capitulated on the fourth day, and obtained favourable terms from the magnanimity of Gustavus [5].

Gustavus holds his first Court at Mayence: his reception of foreign princes and ambassadors.

Next day, which was the 14th of December, on which the King completed his thirty-seventh year, His Majesty made his entry into the conquered town in great pomp, and fixed his quarters in the palace of the Elector: and on the Friday ensuing he ordered a further service of thanksgiving for his success in the Roman Catholic cathedral. Great stores of provision were found in Mayence, besides 80 pieces of artillery, and 600 quintals of gunpowder. The citizens were required to pay 80,000 florins (about £8000) for the redemption of their property from pillage, by the capitulation. The library of the Elector was seized by the King as his personal share, and bestowed on Oxenstierna, who intended it for one of the Swedish universities; but it was unfortunately lost in crossing the Baltic. The King had protracted the campaign into the depth of winter; and the severity of the season was, perhaps, one cause why the Swedish soldiers so speedily tired out those of Spain. But the exhausted troops now stood in need of the repose of winter-quarters, which

[5] Schiller.

were accordingly assigned to them in the pleasant vicinity of Mayence. The Queen arrived at the palace on the 10th of January, and Gustavus now for the first time in his career opened all the splendour of a magnificent court, which was rendered more brilliant by the presence of five German princes, who came to confer with him; and twelve or thirteen foreign Ambassadors, who came, all of them entrusted with transactions of great importance, to treat with him. Among the first was the unfortunate King of Bohemia; and among the last the English ministers, Sir Robert Anstruther and Sir Harry Vane, who came to bring the little aid that they were likely to render on behalf of England, for that unhappy monarch's restoration to his dominions. The King showed him the unprofitable honour of greeting him as a crowned head, and endeavoured by his generous sympathy to soften the sense of his misfortunes; but nothing more could be obtained from the influential mediation of the conqueror. The inactivity and contradictory politics of the English Court had rendered Sweden cold towards its representations, and had forfeited the esteem of Gustavus Adolphus in the affairs of the discrowned Frederick. The King had, however, other business of equal or greater importance to settle in this interval of rest with his Chancellor on home affairs, and with the Ambassadors in treaty for the neutrality of some of his enemies, and for adjusting political disputes with his allies.

Louis XIII. and Richelieu become jealous of the growing influence of Gustavus.

Amongst others who were at Mayence at this juncture was the Marquis de Brezé, brother-in-law of Richelieu, and Ambassador Extraordinary from the French King. Louis XIII. had been alarmed, in the depth of his bigotry, by the insinuations of the Catholic princes of the Empire, that Gustavus had determined on the extirpation of the Romish Religion. France had, indeed, many reasons for endeavouring to check the progress of Gustavus. It was one thing to see

the Emperor humbled, but it was quite another to see him destroyed. Now the passage of the Rhine, of which France was jealous beyond measure, was considered a symptom of very ambitious pretensions on the part of Gustavus Adolphus, at which even Richelieu grew alarmed; and from this time he conceived not only a disinclination to the Swedish cause, but a mortal jealousy of their King. "Means must be devised," he said, "to check this impetuous Visigoth, since his successes will be as fatal to France as to the Emperor." France was at this very moment involved in a civil war with her own Protestant subjects; and the fear was not altogether groundless, that the approach of a victorious Monarch of their party might revive the drooping spirit of the remonstrant Huguenots, and encourage them to a more determined resistance.

Louis XIII. declines a private conference with Gustavus.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to unravel all the intrigues of the great Cardinal, which De Brezé was directed to carry out; but Gustavus was not at all pleased at Richelieu's duplicity; and, mistrusting it, signified to Louis XIII., that he desired a private conference with His Majesty. The French King, naturally timid, trembled at the thought of meeting Gustavus Adolphus, who talked several languages, and whose remarkable genius had made him as formidable in the cabinet as in the field. De Brezé tried to persuade the Swedish King to content himself with a conference with the Cardinal. But Gustavus replied, with hauteur, "All Kings are equal. My predecessors have never given place to the Kings of France. If your master thinks fit to despatch the Cardinal half-way, I will send some of my people to treat with him so far; but I will admit of no superiority." The endeavours on the part of the diplomatists to bring about a general truce betwixt the Protestants and Catholics having failed, an armistice for fourteen days was proposed to the King, to which he consented. But Pappenheim paid no attention to the cessation of arms,

and the Spaniards, equally unmindful of it, crossed the Moselle, and entered the Palatinate. Tilly was allowed by the Sovereign Duke to take possession of the Castle of Neuburg; and an intercepted letter from the Elector Maximilian to Pappenheim advised the King that that artful prince was employing the leisure thus afforded him in preparing the most determined dispositions for resistance.

Gustavus and his Queen return to Frankfort.

About the beginning of February, the King and Queen quitted Mayence, and returned to Frankfort. Gustavus had evinced a great partiality for the electoral city as a residence, and had added considerably to the strength of its fortifications. He had caused a new citadel to be erected at the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine, which was called at the first "Gustavusburg," but which was subsequently known by the name of "Pfaffenraube," or "Pfaffenzeug" (priest-plunder), in allusion to the means derived for its construction. There was also erected on a spot not far from Mayence a lion of marble on a high pillar, holding a naked sword in his paw, and having a helmet on his head, to mark the spot where the great "Lion of the North" crossed the great river of Germany.

Capture of Kreutznach and Ulm.

Pending the negotiations above mentioned, the King's generals had been continually engaged with the Spanish troops, who had advanced to the Rhine; and by the middle of February His Majesty himself opened the campaign with the siege of Kreutznach, in the Palatinate—one of the strongest castles in point of situation to be found in Germany. The strength of the fort greatly surprised Gustavus when he contemplated it, and he very anxiously reconnoitred it. At length, having resolved on his mode of attack, he returned to his army with the cheerful remark, "Now, I will be master of yonder castle by five o'clock to-morrow evening." He determined to proceed by mines, which opened a small but very deep entrance in the walls, which were difficult of ascent. A general storm was

nevertheless ordered, and volunteers were called for the assault, among whom were several English. The young Lord Craven, Lieut.-Colonel Talbot, and Mr. Markam led the van, under the immediate eye of the King. In the first attempt they were repulsed, and Gustavus lost his temper; but going up to Lord Craven he patted him on the shoulder, and bid him return to the attack, which the young lord did unhesitatingly, though he received a severe wound; Talbot was killed next to him, and Sir Francis Vane, brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, and Markam were also severely wounded. The place, however, was taken; and Alexander Ramsay, and subsequently George Douglas, both gallant Scotchmen, were constituted governors. About the same time, the important town of Ulm was taken; and Sir Patrick Ruthven[6], another Scot, was appointed governor of that town. These North Britons were always greatly in the affection and confidence of Gustavus Adolphus.

Gustavus invades Franconia: the siege of Donauwerth.

The Chancellor Oxenstierna was now left with a division of the army to protect the Swedish conquests about the Middle Rhine, and the King himself began his march against the enemy in Franconia on the 4th March, 1632. The forces about to take part in the new campaign were upon a grander scale than formerly. Gustavus and his allies had 100,000 infantry, and

[6] Gustavus on several occasions testified to the supreme necessity of officers in command of troops having the full possession of their energies; and His Majesty never liked to have any general on service turned of sixty years of age. Sir Patrick Ruthven, of whom much is recorded in this biography, had now arrived at that age, and he made him Governor of Ulm, to show how highly the King valued him; but the post was a reputable sinecure. It is to be hoped that at last our military authorities will keep the places of trust at home and abroad, that do not require active habits, for the deserving aged, and never give to the young the places of ease which ought to be left for the rewards of the veteran. The energy of the young man is especially required for the field; the experience of the old officer is best suited to garrisons and home service.

40,000 cavalry under arms; and the Catholic League were preparing to bring into the field a much larger number of forces. In spite of winter torrents and miry roads, the King reached Aschaffenburg, near which place he united himself with Gustavus Horn, Duke William of Saxe Weimar, and Baner; and with respect to this force, which was greater in strength than the army under Tilly, the Bavarian General awaited his Sovereign's orders, as to whether he should bar the march of the Swedes into Bohemia, or into Bavaria. Maximilian directed him to cover at all hazards the frontiers of his Electorate with his army; and on this resolution the King's choice depended. Donauwerth was a place of first consequence to his future movements, because it has always been deemed the key of admission between Suabia and Bavaria. Tilly had employed himself in increasing its works of defence; and it was at this time garrisoned by 1200 men, under the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg. To the surprise both of the general and governor, the King set himself down before it. The Governor on being summoned replied, "that the King knew better than any man the duty of those who had nothing to rely on but honour and the sword, and therefore he could pay him no tribute except in gunpowder." On this, Gustavus raised his batteries and directed his storming parties, when Saxe Lauenberg resolved to attempt an escape, which he accomplished with the loss of 500 men; and in forty-eight hours the town was taken and occupied. By the capture of Donauwerth, which secured a free passage over the Danube, Tilly perceived His Swedish Majesty's real intentions to be against Bavaria; accordingly, with all possible expedition, he broke down the bridge that crosses that river between Neuburg and Rain, and also destroyed all the bridges over the Lech; for that small river now alone separated the Swedes from Bavaria. Maximilian, therefore, concerted with his General in what manner he could most effectually prevent the

King from entering his Electorate. Tilly, foreseeing probably where His Majesty would make the grand attempt, cantoned his army in lesser and greater divisions all along the Bavarian side of the Lech and the Aach, from Rain to Augsburg, which last town he secured by a strong and trustworthy garrison. There are few rivers of the size whose passage is so difficult as that of the Lech. It is a stream that takes its rise in the mountains of the Grisons; and already, in the month of April, the snows melting near its source render the current more of the nature of a torrent than an ordinary river. It is about forty yards wide between Rain and Thierhaupten, and the bank, on what may be for the moment termed the Swedish side, is about eleven feet higher than the opposite bank, where the ground is for the most part a morass, knee-deep, or covered with thick beds of osiers.

Gustavus, as soon as he reached the river, carefully reconnoitred its approaches with the officers of his staff; and, seeing how "the old corporal" (as His Majesty was pleased to designate his antagonist) had erected his batteries, his advisers, who were for the most part men grown grey in war, did not hesitate to counsel caution; because, from the torrent-like rapidity of the stream, it was scarcely possible to lay pontoon bridges with any prospect of success. "What," replied the King to Gustavus Horn, who spoke for the rest of the generals, "have we crossed the Baltic, and so many great rivers of Germany, and shall we now be stopped by a brook like the Lech!" Gustavus felt that now was the opportunity to display his genius and the resources that he had acquired in the practice of war. The two first difficulties he had to encounter were—the sort of bridge that would stand the current, and the illusions he could employ to conceal the laying of it from the view of his enemy. He caused a set of strong trestles to be prepared of various heights, and with unequal feet, that might stand on the very uneven bottom of the

river, and he had strong piles driven down to secure them in their places. The planks that were then laid from the one to the other were well and strongly fastened with nails. He fixed the spot for placing this intended bridge where the Lech makes an inward curve, which afforded him, on his side of the river, the means of bringing a cross fire to bear upon the opposite bank. Here he set his men to work to raise batteries, in which his great artillerist, General Leonard Torstenson, most judiciously placed seventy-two field guns; and from these he furiously thundered on the Bavarian camp without intermission during the whole time that he was constructing his bridge. Tilly's camp was placed beyond a little rivulet, where the ground rose to a moderate hill, covered with shrubs and thorn-trees, on which the troops stood with their artillery in position somewhat concealed by a wood. About 1000 musketeers lined the Swedish bank of the river, who at the same time prevented any Imperial troops from creeping down to reconnoitre; and to prevent such as might do so from seeing any thing. Little fires were kindled in pits, which were constantly fed with smoky combustibles, with pitch and green wood, and, while this concealed the workmen from sight, the thunder of the guns drowned the noise of the axes and hammers, &c.

Capture of Donauwerth: Tilly severely wounded.

Thursday morning, April the 5th, while the cannon-balls tore every thing to pieces within 150 yards' distance, and the dark twilight added to the gloom of the atmosphere, the King himself sent across the river some picked engineers, pioneers, and soldiers, who, as soon as they had made a lodgment, threw up with great expedition a breastwork; then all hands were set to work to fix the bridge in its place; so that when the morning was pretty well advanced, Tilly beheld the passage already effected. To dislodge these intruders was next to impossible, on account of the unceasing fire of the Swedish batteries, which the Bavarian guns for some hours endeavoured in vain to silence. The King,

in person, continued to stand at the foot of the bridge, while this cannonade lasted for thirty-six hours; during which time Charles Gustavus Wrangel was passed across the bridge, to support those who were already on the outwork. Before this, Tilly had directed Aldringer to pass between the osier-bed and the stream, at the head of a body of cavalry, with orders to endeavour to drive away the Swedes, and to get possession of the head of the bridge if possible. These Imperialists penetrated thus far, and made a desperate attempt to seize the bridge; but the musketeers who had been placed on the Swedish bank to protect the construction of the bridge were posted there, and opened such continual fire, that the Imperialists were broken and crushed, and a second attempt brought the brave Aldringer to the ground with a mortal wound in the head. Tilly heard with dismay of the death of his friend, and went down to the river bank to do every thing in his power to replace him, and to encourage his troops. It was in the act of leading a regiment forward with the colours in his hand, that Tilly himself received a stroke on the knee from a falconet-ball, which shattered the bone, and he fell to the ground, swooning away several times from the agony of the fracture. Deprived of the leading of their aged General, the troops relaxed their efforts, and, to augment the general consternation that ensued, two considerable bodies of Finland horse—bold, daring fellows—breasted the stream in several places, and partly by swimming their horses, and partly by fording, while many succumbed in the effort, came like men possessed upon the Bavarians, who gave way on every side. The King, knowing nothing of Tilly's misfortune, remained at the bridge foot, and contented himself towards evening with marching over it at the head of his guards, and passing the night on the Bavarian side of the Lech. Next morning word was brought His Majesty that there was reason to think the enemy were gone; and accordingly he sent

Hepburn with some infantry to obtain information. Two prisoners, horse videttes, were taken, and were brought in to the King, who immediately ordered the troops to pursue the fugitive army to the walls of Rain, and to storm that town sword in hand if they should be resisted. It was at this moment that His Majesty was first informed that Tilly was desperately, if not mortally, wounded.

Augsburg surrenders to the Swedish arms.

Bavaria now lay exposed to the victor; but before he proceeded to its occupation and conquest he resolved to secure Augsburg, Rain, Thierhausen, and Triedberg. Accordingly, despatching Horn after Tilly's army, he shaped his own course to the first-named city, which was rendered illustrious in the King's Protestant views by its famous "Confession," and which he regarded with especial veneration as the place "from whence the law first proceeded from Sion." It is situated on the Lech, about ten miles from Donauwerth, and was at this time garrisoned by 4500 Imperialist troops, under Colonel Breda. Torstenson immediately raised his batteries, and gave new proofs of his uncommon skill in the management of his artillery. But the sight of the havoc which its fire made upon the fine edifices of Augsburg grieved the King; and he forthwith opened a communication with the Governor, to which, after some negotiation, that officer submitted, and yielded up the town. On entering Augsburg, Gustavus walked direct to St. Agnes' Church, where the Lutheran service was performed with great decency; and Fabricius, the King's Chaplain, delivered a sermon on the text:—"Now for the comfortless troubles' sake of the needy, and because of the deep sighing of the poor, I will up, saith the Lord, and will help every one that swelleth against him, and will set him at rest."

Gustavus lays siege to Ingoldstadt, but is obliged to

Gustavus deemed that the possession of Ratisbon and Ingoldstadt was essential to his obtaining a firm footing in the valley of the Danube, from whence he might invade Bavaria. But Tilly, with his parting

raise it. Death of Tilly.

breath, had enjoined the Elector to spare no precautions for the preservation of both these places; and the routed army had retired expressly to cover them. And indeed the defeated General still lingered from his wounds within the walls of Ingoldstadt. This town was considered one of the strongest places in the Empire, and was one of those fortresses which warriors call *Pucelle*, from its having never yielded up its virtue. The King hoped to gain the place by the vigour of his first assault, and by the aid of Torstenson's formidable batteries, which were speedily erected and armed, and were already prepared to open, when Gustavus, on his flea-bitten charger, approaching near the walls to make his observations (for his cool courage and short eye-sightedness rendered this habitual with him), was suddenly hit by a round shot, which struck the mare in the flank, and rolled him over two or three times. With perfect self-possession the King, when raised from the ground by his staff, quieted the fears of his troops by immediately mounting another horse, and riding along their ranks. When he returned to his tent in the evening, his generals all collected around him to urge him to take more care of a life so valuable to the cause. But he told them, "that he had a foolish sort of a fancy, which always tempted him to imagine that he could see better for himself than others did," and "that his sense of God's providence gave him the firm assurance that He had other assistance in store for so just a cause than the precarious existence of *one* Gustavus Adolphus." His Majesty employed eight days in beleaguering Ingoldstadt, which, in respect to any of the sieges he had assisted in, was unusually tedious service. He had, however, never invested the place; for on one side of it the whole Bavarian army, under Maximilian, was in position. The King made a wild attempt to get into a ravelin, which he himself superintended; and then suddenly he raised the siege [7],

[7] As soon as the siege was raised, the inhabitants dug up the

and collecting his army, hastened with great despatch towards Munich. While the siege was in progress, Tilly expired. The news reached the King, who, as was known, disliked him much on account of the atrocities he exercised at Magdeburg; and had never forgotten that he had on one occasion offended his dignity by addressing a remonstrance on some application to him by the style of Cavalier, instead of King. Yet on this occasion the generosity of his nature assumed the ascendant. He no longer spoke of the "Old Walloon," and the "Old Corporal," but exclaimed,—"Alas! then the *honourable* old Tilly is now no more."

Capture of Munich. Gustavus establishes the King of Bohemia in the Elector's palace.

The approach of the great Protestant hero spread dismay in a country where a man who did not believe in the Pope's supremacy was a most unheard-of phenomenon. The leader of a host combined against Rome was in their eyes an antichrist, and the army the brood of Satan. Woe to the unhappy Swedish soldier who fell into their hands! All the horrors that inventive hatred could devise were exercised upon the victims, and the highways were already strewn with their mangled bodies. Gustavus could scarcely restrain his army from some fearful retaliation for these atrocities; but he would not sully the lustre of his chivalrous character by a single act of revenge. The Bavarian capital was now open, stripped of all its defenders, and of its principal inhabitants; but when they sent to implore the King's clemency, he answered, "that if the magistracy submitted readily, and with a good grace, care should be taken that no man should suffer with respect to life, liberty, or religion." He contented himself with a single act of triumph—that of making a public entry into Munich, in company with the King of Bohemia, whom he placed with much pomp in the palace of the very Prince who had been

King's palfrey, which they found buried near his tent, and having carefully stuffed it, deposited it, as a trophy, in the arsenal of Ingoldstadt, where it still remains.

the chief instrument of his ruin[8]. Having taken up his residence, with Frederick, in the electoral palace, he ordered the Protestant service to be performed in the Popish chapel of that edifice, and a sermon to be preached in it by his Chaplain. The palace was a very handsome structure, adorned with pictures by the great Flemish and Italian masters. When his officers would have persuaded His Majesty to plunder or destroy these treasures of art, he replied, "Let us not imitate our ancestors, the Goths and Vandals, who destroyed every thing belonging to the fine arts by their excesses; which has left our nation a proverb and a by-word of contempt with posterity for acts of this wanton barbarity." The dethroned King's palace at Heidelberg had indeed been shamefully rifled of all its treasures; but no retaliatory plunder was committed by Frederick, who did not touch a single cabinet, bronze, or picture. We may remember that our Charles I., in his correspondence with the Swedish Chancellor, had an eye to obtaining a tithe of these fine things; but the stern morality of Gustavus, and the nobleness of his temper, would not permit him to use the opportunity of undignified thieving. Perhaps he might have laid his hand upon some of the secreted manuscripts, which Maximilian had filched from the library at Heidelberg; but if he had found them, he would have restored them to Frederick.

Singular discovery of hidden treasure.

It was a cause of much surprise to the King, to observe that in the Electoral arsenal there were many cannon carriages, but no guns; and yet it had been spoken of as the best supplied arsenal of any in Germany. At length, on some information obtained from a workman, he set himself (as he said) "to unbury the dead." The pavement was broken up at a spot where

[8] One single act of bad taste is said to have accompanied this public ovation:—a monkey, with a shaven crown, and in a capuchin's dress, with a rosary in his paws, accompanied the procession. This was almost too paltry a revenge to be insulting.

no marks of concealment were visible, and there 140 pieces of cannon were discovered! "Rise up from the dead, and come to judgment," said Gustavus; but when they were examined, one that was called "*the Sow*," was found to have within it a cartridge that contained 15,000 golden ducats, which the King immediately placed in his military chest. Abundance of regimentals was also discovered, with which he clothed the larger part of his army. The plate, jewels, and other valuables, which the Bavarian family had unscrupulously acquired in the exactions of twelve years from half the Protestant princes of Germany, could not be discovered; and it was believed that they had been removed to Salzburg, whither the Queen of Bavaria had retired with Duke Albert, her brother. Gustavus appointed his Scotch friend Hepburn Governor of Munich, while he himself went forth to pursue his perilous but glorious career against his enemies in arms.

But while Gustavus Adolphus is yet enjoying his triumph at Munich, we may relate an anecdote that exemplifies the slight infirmity of temper which at times cast its shade upon the magnanimity of our hero. There never yet was one of the sort, naval or military, who has not been occasionally subject, when in command, to a hasty outbreak or two. He once apologized for it to his generals, and told them "that they must bear with his infirmities, as he had to bear with theirs." One Douglas, a Scot, who had transported a company of Scottish infantry into Sweden in the year 1623, had been for his bravery and good conduct advanced to be a Lieutenant-Colonel. On one occasion he was induced in a thoughtless moment to address a memorial to the King, in which were some unguarded expressions that provoked Gustavus to place him under arrest; but afterwards he released him without question. Douglas went to Oxenstierna, protesting he had received an affront,

which he would not bear from any one whatever, and, on his failing to get redress from the Chancellor, he made his way to the King himself. Hearing that His Majesty was in a public tennis-court playing a game with the King of Bohemia, he abruptly presented himself before him, without notice or permission, solicited or granted. Gustavus, indignant at this want of respect and good breeding, said, "Why, sir, are you not at your post of command?" "Sire," was the reply, "I have none." "None? who then is Governor of Kreutznach?" "I have resigned the post." "Resigned! who has permitted you to resign it?" At once understanding the subterfuge, he turned to his staff and said, "Let this officer be committed to prison." On the 16th of May, just as the King was proceeding to his carriage to quit Munich, Harry Vane, the British Ambassador, met His Majesty in the great saloon of the palace, and asked for the release of Douglas. "By heaven!" replied the King, "if you speak another syllable on the subject of that man, I will order him to be hanged." "I hope your Majesty will never commit such an action." "And why so?" "Your Majesty may say at Munich what you please, but will never persist in such an opinion after mature reflection." "Do not tempt me into a passion! The man sought to quit my service after I had released him from arrest; which was not only an affront, but a contravention of my military edicts. I now release him on *your* parole, but will not be affronted a second time." "Adieu, sire." "By heavens, the fellow is a rascal, and I do not choose to be served by such sort of animals." "May it please your Majesty, I have always understood that the subjects of the King my master have rendered you the most excellent and faithful services." "Yes, I acknowledge the people of your nation have served me well, and far better than any others. But this dog, concerning whom we are talking, has affronted me, and I am resolved to chas-

tise him." Gustavus then reflected, and after a short delay added, "Sir, I request you not to take exception at what has dropped from me: it was the effect of a warm and hasty temper. I am now cool again, and beseech you to pardon me[9]."

Another anecdote is recorded of the King regarding likewise a Scotch officer, whom Gustavus had offended by giving him a slap in the face. Colonel Seton demanded his instant dismission from the King's service, and obtained it. But he had not gone far on his way towards Denmark, when His Majesty followed him on horseback, and overtook him. "Seton," he said, "I see you are greatly offended with me; and I am sorry for what I did in haste. I have a high regard for you, and have followed you expressly to offer you all the satisfaction due to a brother officer. Here are two swords, and two pistols; choose which weapon you please, and you shall avenge yourself against me." It is hardly necessary to add, that Seton threw himself at the feet of the King, declared his attachment and devotion to him, and accompanied Gustavus back to the army. These quarrels with his Scotch followers were, indeed, not unfrequent. Even Hepburn had at one time nearly quitted the King's service, and haughtily declared to him, "that he would never more unsheath his sword in the Swedish quarrel." But the attractive monarch knew "that when he chose, he could whistle him back;" and we have seen, he was not only still in the service, but at this very moment Governor of Munich.

While the King was in Bavaria, his old rival and kinsman Sigismund died of apoplexy, and as the throne of Poland was always a subject of contention, there was some uncertainty whether the son Uladislaus would succeed his father, and some doubted whether Gustavus might not have had an eye to the succession himself; but His Swedish Majesty had now obtained a view of much higher prizes of fortune than a Polish

[9] Harte.

crown, so that the son was elected a few months after the death of Sigismund without opposition. In one of the affairs that now took place with the Imperialists, Leonard Torstenson, the famous artillerist, was taken prisoner by some Croatians; but Wallenstein, who had attained the summit of his generosity and magnificence, paid the ransom to the captors out of his own purse, and restored this much-valued officer to Gustavus without delay, who accepted the compliment, but, as will be seen in the sequel, had no great love for the donor.

Gustavus had thus far advanced from victory to victory—an uninterrupted career of conquest had conducted him to the very threshold of the Emperor's hereditary dominions. "The deceitful goddess" had, it is thought, already whispered in his ears that Cæsar's crown was elective, and if he had not succeeded to his wish in establishing a Confederacy amongst the Protestant States, he had, at least, weakened and shattered the Catholic League. He had carried on the war chiefly at its expense, and had diminished, in consequence, the resources of the Emperor, while he had emboldened the weaker States, and gained the friendship of the free cities. By the success of his arms, and the prestige of his name, he had driven the Spaniards out of the Lower Palatinate, and provided for them work enough to occupy them in the distant Netherlands war, so as not to leave them at liberty to interfere again in the affairs of Germany. The possession of a part of Bavaria and Suabia and of the Archbishopric of Mayence effectually covered his rear in a military point of view; and the Duke of Lorraine had been driven to adopt a neutrality. Even the numerous garrisons he had been obliged to leave behind him had not diminished the amount of his disposable forces, for with every success he had drawn fresh numbers to his standard from the ranks of his adversary. Without one enemy able to cope with him

in front, and in the occupation of the entire west of Germany, he now stood in the capital of Bavaria, determined and prepared to carry the war against the Kaiser himself[10]. The successes of Gustavus naturally enough threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation. The Emperor began to lower his tone, and was even willing to bestow the appellation of King on Gustavus, which he had always refused to do until he now trembled for his capital. Tilly's death had deprived him of his best general; for Wallenstein, dismissed and disgraced, was yet at his estates in Moravia; but thoughts were already entertained of restoring the discarded General, who appeared not unwilling to be won. It has been thought that Gustavus Adolphus at Munich wasted his time, like Hannibal at Capua, when he might have heralded his victorious army to "Rome." But it is probable that the King had well reflected that although he might succeed in effecting a raid upon the Imperial capital, he could not, under the circumstances of his position, make himself yet awhile master of the Empire. For, although the army of the King of Saxony occupied Bohemia, and thus could advance with his own army left in front, yet the hereditary estates were vast, and few were at all in the hands of the Protestant Union now, and the dying injunction of Tilly would still leave Maximilian in his rear *à cheval* upon the Danube in a position of the greatest peril against even a victorious army, if it should meet with the slightest reverse.

Wallenstein makes attractive proposals to Gustavus.

The intelligence of the marvellous success of Gustavus Adolphus had of course reached the ears of Wallenstein, who contemplated from a calm distance the brightening sky of his greatness and his fortunes as a necessary consequence. He considered that it was, in fact, for him that the King of Sweden was labouring, for his success gave him power to hope again; accordingly he despatched the banished Count Thurn, who

[10] Schiller.

had long since entered the service of Sweden, to convey the congratulations of the Duke of Friedland to the King, and to invite His Majesty to a close alliance with him. He undertook, in concert with the Swedes, to conquer Bohemia and Moravia, to surprise Vienna, and to drive the Emperor out of Germany. Such extravagant promises, as they appeared to Gustavus, excited his suspicions; and the prudent monarch hesitated to trust his reputation to the chimerical projects of such a daring adventurer, who felt no shame in openly avowing himself a traitor. The King therefore declined the offer of the greatest of the Imperial Generals, perhaps from an excess of caution, and such an opportunity was lost as might have availed for putting a speedy end to the war. The assistance that might have been given by Wallenstein to Gustavus Adolphus was now transferred to the Emperor Ferdinand. The rumour soon spread that the Duke of Friedland had after much difficult persuasion been won over by Ferdinand, and was actively engaged in raising levies; that he had already occupied Prague; and indeed, on the 25th of June, the Imperial General had overrun Bohemia and driven Arnheim, with his Saxons, out of that kingdom, whence, after some delays, he returned to join Maximilian near Ratisbon. The combined Imperial and Bavarian armies in face of the King already amounted to nearly 60,000 men, chiefly veterans.

Gustavus takes up a strong position at Nuremberg.

Before this force Gustavus was not in a condition to keep the field. The position of the army between the frontiers of Saxony and Bavaria left it for some time doubtful whether the Imperialists would remove the war into the former Electorate, or would endeavour to drive the Swedes from the Danube, and deliver Bavaria. The question for Gustavus was now, how best to provide for his own security; for the approach of the enemy had surprised him before he had concentrated his troops, which were scattered all over Ger-

many. The prize was now no longer supremacy, but existence. His fertile genius was therefore called upon to concentrate all his means upon preservation, and to withdraw his mind from conquest. Too weak to meet the enemy in the field, he had no choice left but to withdraw out of Bavaria, and to form an intrenched camp near Donauwerth or Nuremberg. He chose the latter, and having recalled his troops from the pursuit of Ossa, the Imperial Commissary (newly created General), who had been driven to the very foot of the Alps, the King, on the 17th of June, joined Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar at Furth, near to Nuremberg. Measures were immediately taken to surround the town and suburbs with redoubts. One-half of the Swedish army performed the duty of pioneers day by day alternately, assisted by a considerable number of peasants as well as citizens. A ditch of circumvallation, twelve feet wide and eight feet deep, surrounded a space estimated at 219 square acres in extent. Advantage was taken of the river Pegnitz to prepare inundations and batteries, bastions, half-moons, and every species of *épaulement*, and these works were armed with 300 pieces of cannon. The troops were at the same time scattered in every direction to collect food and forage, with which to form extensive magazines, and with such wonderful activity was this carried on, that in a fortnight the great work was completed, for Gustavus had from other quarters called in to his assistance the divisions of the Duke William of Saxe Weimar and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and had ordered his generals on the Rhine, in Thuringia, and Lower Saxony, to commence their march towards the camp forthwith; moreover, Oxenstierna, always attentive as to the King's position and wants, was already on his march towards Nuremberg with Swedish reinforcements. The King's army, however, already encamped within his lines did not exceed 16,000 men—scarcely a third of the force of the enemy.

Wallenstein declines to attack the Swedish forces.

The Imperialists had in the mean time advanced by slow marches to Neumarkt, where Wallenstein indulged in a general review of the formidable force he was leading up against the great Protestant hero. At sight of this fine army, and with something of the neighing of the old war-horse, he exclaimed, "In four days it shall be shown whether I or the King of Sweden is to be master of the world." As soon, however, as he came up to the Swedish intrenchments, and had carefully reconnoitred the position, he changed the resolution he had formed on the road to assault them; and, to the disgust of his associate, the Elector of Bavaria, he said, "Battles enough have been fought; it is now time to try some other method." Maximilian, who hated the man and his presumptuous vanity, pressed him earnestly to force the Swedish lines sword in hand. "Sir," said Wallenstein, with a provoking air of phlegm and rudeness, "commence the attack with your whole army, and I will support you with all my forces." This great General's well-founded reputation did not require any of those rash expedients which very commonly infest the judgment of the weak and presumptuous, and Wallenstein abjured enterprises that men of mere brute courage might adopt in default of knowing any better expedient to give them a hope of gaining a name. He was satisfied that such troops as the Swedes, when judiciously posted, would sell dearly any victory that might be snatched from them; and, in the present condition of affairs, a defeat must irretrievably ruin the Catholic cause. He therefore "tried another method"—the campaign of starving, and trusted to wear out the ardour of his royal opponent by a tedious blockade. Accordingly, the Imperialist General began coolly to trace out a camp almost within sight of the King, and not above three miles distant from the Swedish intrenchments. By the position that he selected for his camp, he cut off from the city and camp of Gustavus all supplies out of Franconia, Suabia, and Thuringia. The Imperial position covered

a very large extent of ground; but its *tracé* was very slight and unsubstantial, consisting only of a small ditch, protected by interlaced trees and branches, intermixed with gabions, fascines, and barricades of various kinds. Wallenstein, though a valiant soldier, was not regarded as "a notable spade-man," and was neither a great engineer nor an artilleryman; but he was a wonderful commissary and purveyor. Store-bread was the standing diet of a soldier in those times, and this necessary of life could only be obtained, from a district so occupied by entire armies, by somewhat rash enterprises, sword in hand, for in the surrounding country the foraging parties required a numerous escort; so that there were sharp skirmishes every hour of the day between the Croats and the Swedish horse, to "pick up the crumbs;" and, as the peasantry had for the most part fled away with all their property, the supply soon failed altogether. Under these circumstances provisions and ammunition had to be obtained by the Imperial army from Vienna and Munich, by way of Ratisbon. A large convoy out of Bavaria had been signalled as being in march about the 20th of July, and a regiment of Swedish cavalry was sent under cover of the darkness of night to look out for it. It was opportunely met and encountered. The Imperial escort was cut to pieces; 1000 waggons, laden with bread, were set on fire, and 12,000 cattle were carried off. In returning from this "raid," the Swedish cavalry met seven Imperial regiments moving down to Altdorf in expectation of the convoy; and these were set upon and driven back to Wallenstein's camp, with the loss of 400 men.

Gustavus collects his scattered forces.

The two armies lay thus gazing on each other for eight weeks, merely amusing themselves from time to time with *camisados*[1] and ambuscades and skirmishes.

[1] *Camisado* is a word that, having found its way into the English dictionary, has been long out of use. It would seem to designate more particularly a surprise by night, being derived from *camisa*, a shirt.

But on both sides infectious diseases, the natural consequence of bad or insufficient food, and the muddy waters of the Pegnitz, which supplied both camps, occasioned as great a loss as many a battle. At length, on the 17th of August, the King had notice of the approach of the four little armies that he had ordered to reinforce him. He despatched couriers to the several generals, having subjoined to each letter a plan of their respective routes, strictly enjoining vigilance and precaution, lest an attempt should be made by the Imperialists to prevent their junction. This was at length effected satisfactorily on the 21st of August, when Gustavus galloped out of his camp to Hertzog-Aurach, where he paid them a visit, and the same day led triumphantly within his intrenchments 50,000 hardy veterans, all eager to come to blows with Wallenstein's mercenaries. The first habitual act of the King on the success of any of his dispositions was to set apart a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and his next step was to pay his soldiers all arrears. Both these duties were executed with a regularity that was characteristic of this hero.

General action between Gustavus and Wallenstein at Altenberg.

Gustavus now saw himself at the head of 70,000 soldiers, without reckoning the Nuremberg militia. But Wallenstein also had received reinforcements; so that at least 120,000 men confronted each other, with 50,000 horse, on the banks of the small river of the Pegnitz. If, before the arrival of these reinforcements, a want of provisions and much disease prevailed, the evil was fearfully increased in both camps after the junction. And these distresses, together with his numerical superiority, at length determined the King to take the initiative, and to march out of his own lines to attack Wallenstein, in order to force him to raise his camp. It was on the 22nd of August that the Swedish army marched up to the enemy, and thundered with three vast batteries of cannon upon the Imperial intrenchments. Wallenstein responded to this cannonade with

an equal fire; and this bombardment was undertaken, discontinued, and resumed for two days. The Elector, and the superior officers of the army, endeavoured by remonstrance, and even ridicule, to rouse the Duke of Friedland to force on a battle; but he remained immovable, resolved to test the King's patience, and, if possible, to tire out His Majesty by his inactivity. At length, on the 25th, the increasing distress affected the discipline and order of the Swedish camp to such a degree that Gustavus resolved to storm his adversary's stronghold. Entrusting the defence of his camp to the militia of Nuremberg, he crossed the Rednitz below Furth, easily driving the Imperialist outposts before him, and advanced against the steep heights on which was situated the old Castle of Altenberg. Here Wallenstein had with much art immured himself behind a threefold barrier of abattis and other obstacles. The ascent was steep and craggy, and the forest of Altenberg, which was in the rear of the château, was spread around over the hollows and inequalities of the ground. The King advanced, sword in hand, at the head of the attacking party, directing in person the order of the attack. His object was to gain the summit of the mountain—a task difficult by nature, but rendered much more so by the intervention of art and the forest. The conflict lasted for ten hours without intermission, when, as the day began to decline, His Majesty, who never left the front during the whole time, plainly perceived that the slaughter would end in no success: maintaining therefore the musketeers in front, he withdrew the rest of his army by succession of divisions to the plains below. One thousand mangled bodies covered the field, many of which could not be removed. Both Wallenstein and Duke Bernhard had horses killed under them, and the King had the sole of his boot carried off by a cannon-ball, without injury to himself or his horse. The combat was continued with undiminished obstinacy, till at length night put an end to the conflict.

It is related that, when at the close of the day the King found that every Swedish regiment had been engaged, and that he had none in reserve, he appealed to the attachment of the Scotch contingent, who still served in his army, under Colonel Hepburn. It appears, as has been related, that a few days previously some sharp discussion had taken place between him and the King, when the contingent declared, one and all, that they would never more unsheath their swords in the King's quarrels, after his ungrateful conduct to them. But now appealed to by Gustavus in a moment of extreme danger, the whole regiment obeyed their leader's summons, and with great gallantry and resolution covered the retreat of the army. But having done so, Hepburn respectfully informed the King that he and his men adhered to their resolution to quit His Majesty's service; and they must have done so, for at the battle of Lutzen neither the Marquis of Hamilton nor any of the British volunteers will be found to have been present in the ranks of the Confederate army.

The King passed a wet, cold, and tedious night; but His Majesty's first thoughts in the morning were for the commanded musketeers, who had been left behind to cover the retreat of the army, and who were still lying in the front in face of Altenberg Castle. Duke William of Weimar undertook to bring them off; but Gustavus, impatient under their possible sacrifice, resolved to see the deed done with his own eyes; and, following a regiment, he took the partisan courteously out of a colonel's hands, and, performing the duty of a regimental officer, brought back his men with composure and resolution. Upon some one remarking, that this act was beneath the dignity of a crowned head, he replied, "It has ever been a maxim with me, that no duty compatible with the honour of a simple officer misbecomes the greatest commander."

Gustavus resolves to

For nearly a fortnight after this affair at Altenberg the two armies continued to confront each other: each

in the hope that the other would be the first to give way. But as scarcity continued and increased, so did the excesses of the soldiery, insomuch that all discipline and order were broken up, to the great grief of Gustavus. The best generals, as well as the common soldiers, became cruel and rapacious, which hurt the King's mind both as a Christian and a soldier, and, sending for the generals and colonels, he addressed an harangue to them upon these excesses in a style peculiarly his own. Gustavus had lost by the casualties of war and sickness nearly 20,000 of his soldiers. The Duke of Friedland's army was at the same time diminished by the sword, desertion, and famine, by as many as 36,000. Affected by these conditions of the contest, the King assembled the patricians of Nuremberg, and assuring them of the grief it caused him to desert this faithful and affectionate city, proved to them by sound military reasoning that Wallenstein could not attempt to besiege them; but he promised faithfully that if he did, he would march back in person to their relief; and in assurance of both promises he appointed Kniphausen with 4000 men to defend Nuremberg to the last, *upon his head*, and added, "I will leave my Chancellor, Oxenstierna, with you as a pledge of my sincere intentions not to abandon you in the time of any trouble."

defend Nuremberg to the last extremity.

On the 8th of September the King quitted his camp in full order of battle and in face of the enemy, but no attempt was made to disturb his march. His route lay along the banks of the Aisch to Neustadt and Windsheim, where he halted five days. But Wallenstein rested motionless for a few days after the King's departure, being as much exhausted, and tired of his camp, as Gustavus; but he also broke up from it on the 12th, and set it on fire. His march was directed down the Rednitz on Bamberg. The King thought that, perhaps, the Imperialists proposed to themselves to make some attempt on his late conquests in Fran-

Gustavus invades Upper Austria.

conia, and accordingly he now divided his army, and gave Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar 10,000 or 12,000 men, wherewith to dispute the passage of the Maine, if necessary, against Wallenstein: and with the remainder he undertook an expedition against Upper Austria, which last was done upon the persuasion of Oxenstierna, that the Emperor would be more tender of one hereditary province than of all the other dominions of the German Princes.

Inglorious surrender of Rain by Mitzval.

Gustavus accordingly marched his army to Donauwerth, not without an ardent hope that he might have an opportunity of obtaining possession of Ingoldstadt. On his march he heard that Montecucculi, with an Imperial army, had invested Rain. The King had, however, left in it a sufficient garrison, and had placed it in the hands of Colonel Mitzval, with ample supplies of every kind. He was an officer of long standing, and had served with the King in his Polish wars; and His Majesty was therefore quite easy in respect to the fortress. He had victuals, artillery, and ammunition in abundance; and had been commanded to strengthen the fortifications by some new works, that had been ordered to be raised before the King quitted Bavaria. Great, therefore, was his astonishment when he received the news of Mitzval's ignominious and mean-spirited capitulation. It appears to have been a characteristic of Gustavus Adolphus, as it was of Wellington in our day, that when any *contretems* happened calculated to vex him, or to disturb his operations, he immediately sat down to consider of some expedient to recover himself, rather than waste his thoughts on a mere unprofitable retrospect. He knew that there was a castle hard by that had a bridge over the Lech; and, having lost the bridge of Rain, he made a hasty march to Obernsdorf, where he found the Imperialists in the act of destroying the one at that place. On his approach the enemy fled, and he soon restored the structure, and, passing his army over it, marched immediately to Rain, where, knowing the

weak point in the *tracé*, he immediately made a bold attempt at an escalade, and by this means got back immediate possession of that fortress. From thence he followed after Montecucculi, who had retired to Ratisbon, and on the 5th of October the Swedish army halted at Neuburg on the Danube. The person of the unfortunate Colonel Mitzval had been surrendered to him at Rain, and His Majesty now resolved to make an example of him, and to have him beheaded in presence of the whole army. During the whole of his German service no execution had been witnessed in the army of the King of Sweden; but he firmly resisted every appeal that was now made upon his mercy for this chief delinquent, while he granted the pardon of some inferior officers who were deemed to have been, from some reason or another, implicated in the surrender with the Governor.

The Elector of Saxony's jealousy of the growing influence of Gustavus.

The King of Sweden had witnessed with great uneasiness the acts of diplomacy that were employed to detach his allies from him. There was no one respecting whose sincerity he had a greater misgiving than that of John George, Elector of Saxony. Hating war in the abstract, yet jealous to the highest degree of the military reputation of Gustavus, this Sovereign could not see without great disquiet the interference of Sweden in the affairs of the Empire. The increasing influence of the King in Germany, his authority over many of the Protestant states, the palpable ambition which must naturally arise out of so many conquests, all combined to excite great uneasiness in the Elector's breast; and the bitter complaints against the Swedish army which were continually made by the Saxon Court seemed to render an approaching rupture inevitable. The Elector of Saxony was at this moment displeased at the intention of the Swedish King to attack Ingoldstadt, and disliked his taking advantage of an insurrection in Upper Austria to invade that hereditary dominion of the Emperor. To these complaints, however, Gustavus

had not listened; but now that he was informed by express from Oxenstierna, that Wallenstein had fallen upon Voigtland and Misnia, and threatened to overrun the Saxon electorate, he thought it due to his ally to interfere, and broke up with all haste from the valley of the Danube, and marched back to Nuremberg, intending to penetrate the vast Thuringian forest, and to protect the territory of his unstable colleague. Gustavus moreover had never had any confidence in the Saxon General Arnheim, and he had received very clear evidence that he was in direct correspondence with Wallenstein.

Tycho Brahe's astrological predictions.

The celebrated Swedish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who had lived up to the beginning of this century, had announced on the appearance of a new star in Cassiopeia, in the year 1572, "that a northern prince might be expected to arise who should greatly assist the interests of the more pure religion, and that the precise culmination of this astral influence should be perceived by the generality of mankind in the year 1632, or thereabouts." Gustavus being now in the zenith of his glory, in the very year indicated, many were led to recur to this prediction, and to cast in their minds to what it was now about to lead.

Gustavus takes his last leave of Oxenstierna, and of his Queen.

The Swedish army marched in fourteen days to Arnstadt, where it rested for six days. The King had brought the Chancellor with him from Nuremberg, to confer with him at greater leisure as to the prospects of the war. But here Oxenstierna took his last farewell of his respected Sovereign and early friend, and returned to Nuremberg; while the King carried the army forward a march of twenty miles to Erfurt, where he found his Queen Eleonora, who received him on foot in the market-place, attended by her train of ladies; and here, two days later, he took a most affectionate leave of her also, who was never again to behold him, save in his coffin at Weissenfels. In two days and a half His Majesty, by easy marches, reached Naumburg on the 1st of

November, which town on his approach he found barred against him by an officer of Pappenheim's; on which Gustavus sent Colonel Brandstein, at the head of a body of musketeers, who, on reaching the gate of the city, and finding some hesitation in its being opened, applied a petard to the portcullis, and, opening his way, entered the town sword in hand. The inhabitants of the country through which Gustavus Adolphus had marched flocked around his path in crowds, to look upon the great hero who a short year before had alighted in that same region, appearing among them like a protecting angel. Shouts of joy every where attended his progress. The people knelt before him, and struggled for the honour of touching the sheath of his sword, or kissing the hem of his garment. The characteristic modesty of the "Lion of the North" disliked these tributes of veneration, which a grateful and admiring multitude paid him, saying, "Is it not as if this people would make a god of me? Our affairs indeed prosper; but I fear the vengeance of Heaven will fall upon me for this presumption, and soon reveal to this multitude my human weakness and mortality."

Battle of Lutzen.

Wallenstein, having overrun Voigtland, and besieged and captured Leipzig, had now, on the 28th of October, effected a junction with Pappenheim at Merseburg. While the two Imperial leaders were concocting their future plan of operations, word came that the King of Sweden had arrived on the banks of the Saal. It became necessary, therefore, to bring matters to the hazard of a battle, in order that the Imperialist army might secure winter-quarters, for it was now already on the verge of winter. Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, who had been hovering about Wallenstein's movements, had now joined the King, so that Gustavus was at the head of 20,000 veterans. However, he consulted both Bernhard and Kniphausen as to their opinion of his hazarding a battle; and it was resolved that His Majesty had better not do so with such odds of numbers against him,

principally on the judgment of the older general, Kniphausen, who laid it down that "no commander ought to encounter an enemy superior to him in strength, unless compelled to do so by some pressing necessity. Now, your Majesty is neither circumscribed in space, nor in want of provisions, forage, or warlike stores." In consequence of this decision, the army was ordered, on the 3rd of November, to throw up intrenchments, in order to await some reinforcements expected under the Duke of Lunenburg. This precaution of the King's deceived the Imperialist General, who thought that Gustavus was forming his intrenched camp near Naumburg, as he had previously done near Nuremberg. Wallenstein moreover found that all voices in his army were raised against continuing the campaign in the severe weather, and were universally clamorous in their desire for repose. In the hesitation of his mind, it is said that he had the condescension to request Pappenheim to collect the private opinions of all the generals and colonels, who declared unanimously against any attempt to force the Swedish lines.

Gustavus suddenly resolves to attack the Imperialists.

It is not very clearly recorded why, when the hostile armies were in such close position, the Imperialist General should have taken the step that he next did, which was—to detach Pappenheim, with 8000 men, to Halle. But the fact that he had done so was made known to the King by an intercepted letter from General Colloredo on the very day that the detachment marched off. Other divisions of the army were found also to have moved into cantonments between the Unstruth and the Saal. On hearing of this act of his adversary, the King thought himself released from Kniphausen's arguments, and to be at liberty to follow his own inclination to bring Wallenstein to battle. At one hour after midnight, on the 5th November, the whole Swedish army was accordingly put in motion as far as Pegau, where it stopped four hours before daylight to take some repose and refreshment; and Gustavus here

received from some of the country people the gratifying assurance that the Imperialist army was quiet, and had made no counter-movement. He formed the idea on the spur of the moment to advance and surprise the detachments in their quarters before it could be possible for the commanding officers to collect any mass together. He therefore demanded the road to Lutzen, and was informed that it was close under his eyes, and the army was therefore ordered to march "right shoulders forward," and to bend its course towards that place, supposed to be five miles distant. It proved, however, to be more than eight miles off; and the greater part of the day was expended in struggling through the clay of the ploughed ground, making but an inconsiderable advance. At length they attained to Rippach, a village in which was a regiment of Imperial cuirassiers, and another of Croatians. The King immediately opened some field-pieces, under whose fire he attacked the flank, while he went forward and dislodged the enemy out of their quarters: but yet it was thought that the success was unimportant, and that this furtive night-march of the whole Swedish army was a somewhat rash proceeding; so that Kniphausen again intruded his counsel to the King for a retreat. The King however replied, with a tone of decision somewhat more arbitrary than was customary with him, "that the die was now cast; that he could not bear to have Wallenstein under his beard and not make a swoop upon him; for," said he, "I long to unearth him, and see how he can acquit himself in a champaign country." The motions of the Swedish army had been, however, now recognized; and the light troops of the Duke of Friedland, under the command of the Croatian General Isolani, dashed forward to occupy the villages on the plain of Lutzen. Wallenstein at the same time despatched an officer to recall Pappenheim, with orders to allow nothing to impede his return. As soon as he had sent off his message, and

recovered a little his presence of mind, he began to scan anxiously the nature of the ground occupied by himself, or possessed by Gustavus, and to reconnoitre the battle-field before him.

Disposition of the hostile forces before the battle.

A large highway from Lutzen to Leipzig bisects the plain in a line that extends from west to east; on the southern side of which lay the Swedes, and on the northern the Imperialists. Two ditches, one on each side, ran parallel to this road, on the sides of which, here and there, were old willow-trees. The soil is a deep rich mould, somewhat heavy to the tread of horse and foot. On Wallenstein's right, near the town of Lutzen, was an eminence, on which some windmills stood. It does not appear that Gustavus employed the time of the evening of the 5th in forming any artificial defences; but the Duke of Friedland had ordered that the ditches on the road-side should be deepened and widened; and he fixed two large batteries on the windmill hill. Gustavus ordered his army to be prepared to attack two hours before daybreak; but the morning was so intensely dark, owing to a heavy mist, that it was scarcely possible to discern an object at two pikes' distance. The King had passed the night in his coach with Kniphausen and Duke Bernhard, for the old campaigner was not the proprietor of a tent, or of any field equipage—a neglect which is not generally the characteristic of an old soldier. Gustavus was early on horseback, but finding he could not fight, he proposed to pray; and ordered his chaplain to perform Divine service. He declined to take any refreshment—another grievous omission in an old soldier. When invited to put on his steel breastplate, according to custom, he refused, saying, "The Lord is my armour;" and this would have been a weakness, but that it is believed that a wound he had formerly received prevented his wearing it; and he was therefore only clad in a new plain cloth doublet, and an elk-skin surtout[2].

[2] This dress is still preserved in the Imperial Museum at Vienna.

"God with us," was the countersign of the Swedes; "Jesu Maria," was that of the Imperialists.

It was past eight o'clock (some say eleven) before the fog lifted; and the King immediately mounted his horse, and made a short address to the several divisions of his army. Drawing his sword for action, Gustavus placed himself at the head of the right wing. Wallenstein opened upon his advance a heavy fire of artillery; to which the King could ill reply, from the fact that, although the Swedish guns were more in number than those of his adversary, yet they were all of light calibre, and many of them merely made of leather. The ditches of the road were a formidable obstacle for any troops to surmount, for they were lined with musketeers, who exceedingly incommoded the cavalry in their advance. But at length the "commanded" musketeers of the Swedes cleared the high road, and crossed it. But the brigades that followed the advance found the passage of the road so hazardous, that they seemed to pause; whereupon Gustavus, quickly observing this hesitation, snatched a partisan from one of the colonels, to lead them across. "If," said he, with severity, "after having passed so many rivers, scaled so many walls, and fought so many battles, your old courage has failed you, stand still but a moment, and see your master die in the manner we all ought to be ready to do;" and he essayed to leap the ditch before them. "Stop, sire," said the men; "for Heaven's sake spare your invaluable life; do not distrust us; the business shall be completed." Having now passed the ditches with them, he observed opposite to him three dark masses of Imperial cuirassiers, clad in iron; and, turning to Colonel Stalhaus, an officer of considerable repute, he said, "Charge me those black fellows; for they are men that will undo us—as for the Croatians, I mind them not." Stalhaus executed the royal order with great alacrity; but the Croatians suddenly changed their direction, to fall upon the baggage, and had actually

Desperate action: Gustavus is slain.

reached the King's coach, which only escaped capture in the great disorder. The trenches being passed, the Swedes pressed forward with such irresistible impetuosity that the first, second, and third Imperial brigades were forced to fly; but Wallenstein came down to their aid in person, and at the sound of his voice the fugitives were stopped. Three regiments of cavalry now arrived to cover their re-formation, and they in their turn pressed vigorously against the Swedes, who were forced to retire again beyond the trenches; and a Swedish battery on the further side was captured. The King was at the moment on the right, when word was brought him that his left wing had been driven back across the trenches. Leaving therefore Gustavus Horn to maintain the conflict on the right, he galloped at the head of the regiment of Steinboch to repair the disorder. As he passed along, a cuirassier corporal, or "Gefreyter," of Piccolomini's regiment, remarking that every one respectfully made way for him, and therefore thinking he must be an officer of consequence, immediately ordered a musketeer to fire at him. The soldier fired as he was ordered, and Gustavus received his first wound in his left arm. With his accustomed resolution he concealed the fact from the men around him; but, at length, perceiving his strength to fail, he whispered to the Duke of Lauenberg, "Cousin, I perceive myself to be grievously wounded; lead me to some place of safety." At the same moment an Imperial squadron came rushing up, and, in the confusion of the moment, the King received a second shot, in the back; when he turned to the same prince, saying, "Brother, I have enough; look you to your own life;" and at the same instant he fell to the ground. His few personal attendants remained at his side to tend and protect him; but the troops that accompanied him were dispersed. A desperate struggle, however, still took place around his body; when a German page, refusing to tell his royal master's rank, was shot through the body.

But the dying hero, taking up the question, said, "I am the King of Sweden, and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany." A shot from a pistol, and a sword-thrust, soon terminated the life of the royal sufferer, who could only add, "My God! my God! Alas! my poor Queen," and expired.

Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar assumes the command of the Swedish army.

The sight of the King's charger covered with blood proclaimed to the army that "the Lion of the North had fallen." Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar immediately assumed the command, and ordered an advance to secure possession of the royal body. The soldiers fought for it like enraged lions, for every one seemed to have the ambition to expire by the side of their royal leader; but it could not at that time be obtained. The fight was some time maintained with resistless impetuosity, and the yellow guard of the King was nearly cut to pieces. It was not till the fury of the battle was past, that, after a long search, the royal corpse was discovered, covered with wounds and blood, trampled under horses' hoofs, stripped and naked, and scarcely to be recognized. After the victory of Lutzen the King's body rested for a time on a great stone, which still exists on the field, and is called "the Stone of the Swede." The body was afterwards carried from the field in state, attended by the whole army, and conducted to Weissenfels, where it was entrusted to the care of Queen Eleonora, and the loving wife attended it to Sweden, when it was deposited in the royal vault at Stockholm, amidst the tears of the Swedish nation; and the sight of the coffin still excites the sympathies of after generations, who will never cease to appreciate Gustavus' very great worth, devotion, and most just claims to immortality [8].

[8] At the death of the King his body was stripped on the field by the Imperialists almost before it was cold, for every one was desirous to possess a relic that had belonged to this great and good man. His buff waistcoat was ordered to be taken off from the body

Personal appearance, and general character, of Gustavus Adolphus.

In person Gustavus Adolphus was extremely majestic, and it was his noble form, and the many honourable scars on his body, that distinguished him most pre-eminently in the heap of the "ignoble slain." He was the most graceful figure of his own army, of the tallest but not in the least obese, although somewhat inclined to stoutness. His eyes were of a light grey colour, and had a piercing clearness, but inclined to softness, excepting when occasional bursts of anger discomposed them, then they flashed fire; his hair was light, his nose somewhat aquiline, his forehead large, and his complexion florid. His countenance, as will be acknowledged by all who know the many portraits of him, was open and attractive; and his manners, though commanding, were affable and condescending. It was said of him, "that he died with the sword in his hand, the word of command on his tongue, and victory in his imagination." But his greatest praise is that of which he was himself ambitious;—"That he might be regarded as the prince who had fulfilled the duties of that station which Providence had assigned to him in the world." Professor Smyth thus sums up his character, with a moral that is deserving of every general's deep consideration:—"It is fortunate when the high courage and activity of which the human character is capable are tempered with a sense of justice, wisdom, and benevolence: when he who leads thousands to the field

by Piccolomini, who sent it as a trophy to the Emperor. His sword was taken out of his death-grasp, and carried no one knew whither. His ring and spurs got into the possession of one of the name of Holk; and his gold chain is still preserved in a family of the name of Schneberg. But from the period in question nothing is known concerning a famous turquoise of extraordinary size and beauty, that had belonged from time immemorial to the crown of Sweden. It was surmised that it had fallen into the hands of a Roman-Catholic Bishop, who desired that his diocese should possess this distinguishing mark of Anti-Christ (for such the Papists styled Gustavus)—*Ne qui alii, ut post victoriam ignavi etiam gloriantur, hanc sibi laudem præcerpant.*

has sensibility enough to feel the responsibility of his awful trust, and wisdom enough to take care that he directs against its proper objects alone, the afflicting storm of human devastation. It is not always that they who have commanded the admiration of mankind have claims like these to their applause. It is not always that the great and high endowments of courage and sagacity are so united with other high qualities, as to present to the historian at once a Christian, a soldier, and a statesman. Yet such was Gustavus Adolphus,—a hero deserving of the name, perfectly distinguishable from those who have assumed the honours that belong to it,—the mere military executioners with whom every age has been infested."

Gustavus sets the earliest example of a standing army.

Gustavus Adolphus is thought to have been the first sovereign who set the example of a standing army. The feudal association of Barons with their retainers, had given way in the previous century to a set of military adventurers, who made war a profession to gratify their licence and their acquisitiveness, and who were commissioned by kings and leaders to collect together the assassins of Europe. These constituted at the very time of the Thirty Years' War the unprincipled and insatiate legions who harried Germany, who, without much discipline, were continually dissipated by the first disaster, and collected together again as it were from the four winds of heaven to cover the face of the land again and again with terror, devastation, and confusion. Gustavus, who had witnessed this from afar, or experienced it in his Polish wars, had in him that spirit of organization and order, which signally distinguished him above every great leader who preceded him. He saw that a well-disciplined force of men to be commanded by a superior class of officers of high honour and intelligence, and who should constitute an armed body that might obtain the dignity of a profession of arms, would be a more efficient and a cheaper defence of nations than the hap-hazard assembling of mere blood-

hounds; and he first executed the project of having a force of 80,000 men, part in activity, and part in reserve, who should be constantly maintained well armed, well clothed, well fed, and well disciplined.

Improvement of artillery: leather cannon.

It is, perhaps, the highest military encomium of Gustavus Adolphus, that he was the greatest tactician of his age. The necessity of remodelling the national army, so as to make it to be more readily handled and set in motion, had been effectively learned in his Polish wars. The Swedish battalion of infantry, as constituted by the King, was divided into eight companies—150 or 160 men in each. Two-thirds of each company were musketeers, and one-third pikemen. It must be remembered that bayonets had not yet been invented, and the organization accordingly required that the pikemen should be placed in the midst of the company, and the musketeers at the flanks; but they were so told off, that when infantry were to be encountered the musketeers advanced and poured in their fire; and when cavalry impended, the pikemen were thrown forward, their flanks being well covered by the flanking fire of the musketeers. The instruments of war were also considerably improved; the incumbrance and other defects of the matchlock were rectified; and flintlocks began to supersede the very cumbrous process of the match. The rest, which was still considered necessary for the musket, was now abolished for the pike, which was also lightened by being shortened. Gustavus was likewise the first who reduced the matchlock of the cavalry to the dimensions of carbines. The soldiers up to his time carried bandoliers, or a leathern belt garnished with eleven little wooden cylindric boxes, ten of which contained ball-cartridge, and the eleventh loose powder for priming. This the King superseded by the cartouche-box, and a powder-flask, from which last they blew the powder into the priming-pan. The cuirassiers were still completely cased in armour from head to foot. The King first restricted his own heavy cavalry to

breastplates and a headpiece; the horsemen had till then carried a long pike, sixteen feet long, which was also reduced to the length of eleven feet: the general principle adopted by the King in all these changes being the sensible one—of rendering men more agile in the field. The soldiers of every army still carried swords. It is true that the same fate awaited many of the inventions of Gustavus that attach to those of all other men. Being in advance of the prejudices of his own age, they dropped into desuetude after him. No more remarkable example of this could have existed than the invention of leather cannon, which certainly contributed very considerably to the victory at Leipzig, and to many of the successful actions of the King's wars. These pieces were of extraordinary service upon all rapid marches, through deep land, and over difficult mountain passes; for one strong horse could convey a couple of them as fast as any troops could march. They were easily shifted, and quickly discharged. In our time we can afford to smile at an invention which has been altogether shunted; but at that period its merit of portability, and its facility of opening unexpected bombardment upon the masses, which were the ordinary formation of every hostile array, and especially against cavalry, from whose attacks they could be speedily removed, gave them such consideration in this King's eyes, that he used them in all his wars from 1628 till his death. They were composed of thick layers of the hardest leather, girt round with iron or brass rings or hoops. They of course could not be used a great many times, for after eight or twelve discharges they would fall to pieces: but they could be readily manufactured in camp, and were thus promptly replaced. Gustavus paid very great attention to the artillery arm, which before his time was very cumbrous: and the practice of loading guns with cartridge was now substituted for the very hazardous employment of loose gunpowder. The Marquis of Hamilton, who was also

of an inventive genius, brought over with his little army a four-pounder brigade, each drawn by a pair of horses, which the King found very efficient in manœuvring. The Swedish evolutions in columns, and the Scotch custom of platoon firing, are both of the time of Gustavus, who also anticipated the golden rule of the great Marshal Saxe—"Never to fight without a reserve." Before his time the Swedish troops used to be formed nine deep, but he perceived that in the improvement of artillery these masses were exposed to great havoc and were difficult to move, and he therefore formed his troops three deep. He is also said to have introduced the bayonet and ball-cartridge.

Gustavus' great encouragement of literature.

This warlike monarch possessed, beside his noble military qualities, many virtues, which in a reign of peace would have distinguished him above this world's rulers. He patronized literature, and sought to increase the Archiepiscopal library of Upsal with munificent donations from the plunder of the many episcopal libraries which were scattered "here and there and every where," in the wars of Germany; and these are still numbered among its chief treasures. He also founded the Royal Academy at Abo, and the University at Dorpen in Livonia. He had a playful love of Latinity; so that when he travelled incognito he would call himself GARS, adopted from the capital letters of his later title, Gustavus Adolphus, Rex Sueviæ.

His high moral and religious excellence.

Yet, without doubt, the high attributes of this great King's character were his private qualities of honesty, magnanimity, morality, and religion. There was not one breach of trust, one habitual immorality, one infraction of religion, one disregard of public virtue or private worth, that can strictly, or with any justice, be laid to his charge. We never find him encroaching or overbearing as a Sovereign; we never discover him false or dishonourable in any of the relative or social duties of life. He preferred no man but for his presumed merit and probity; he broke his faith neither with poten-

tate nor with subject; he never had recourse to dissimulation or deceit; for as a brave man he despised it, and as a man of integrity and judgment he did not need it. Gustavus Adolphus was one of those great and fortunate human beings, "*quem vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent,*" and his name must ever live in the world's history as "The Lion of the North, and the bulwark of the Protestant faith."

His daughter and successor, Christina.

Gustavus had ardently desired a son who might learn from him the arts of war and government, in which he thought he excelled; and on his return from his campaign in Poland, on the 8th of December, 1626, it was announced to him that the Queen was delivered of a male child. But it proved a mistake; the child was really a girl, but had been taken for a boy because it was dark and ugly, and cried with a loud rough voice. This was the celebrated Christina, Queen of Sweden. No one liked to explain the disappointment to the King, until at length his sister, the Princess Catherine, took the child in her arms, and, carrying it to her brother, announced to him that he had a daughter. Gustavus was too noble to show any vexation, even if he felt it. He kissed the child, and said, "Let us thank God, sister; I hope this girl will be as good as a boy: I am content, and pray God to preserve the child." After a few moments he added, "She is an arch wench to put a trick upon us so soon." Christina was very fond of her illustrious father, and would go with him to his reviews, evincing the greatest delight by clapping her little hands when the troops fired, so that the King ordered the firing to be repeated for her, saying, "She is a soldier's daughter."

Commits his family to the care of Oxenstierna.

A famous letter of the King to Oxenstierna, recommending his wife and child to his care, is on record, in which he tells him, "I exhort and entreat you for the love of Christ, that if all does not go on well, you will not lose courage. I conjure you to remember me and the welfare of my family, and to act towards me and

mine as you would have God act towards you and yours, and as I will act to you and yours if it please God that I survive you, and that your family have need of me."

His staunch Protestantism attracted many Scotch to his person.

Gustavus was faithful to his friends, merciful to his enemies, sincere and unselfish. He has been reproached for ambition, and suspected of aiming at an universal monarchy; but if he had wished it, he could hardly have ventured to thwart the warlike inclinations of his people, who were eager to side with their fellow-Protestants in Germany; and he was in heart and soul the representative of Protestant opinion, and thought an invasion of Germany the most effectual means of keeping war from his own dominions. The religious enthusiasm of the Swedes extended to their mercenary auxiliaries, and the Scotch brigade considered a war against Popery as their own cause, and stood firm to the Swedes when others revolted[4]. They found their truest master in Gustavus Adolphus, who knew their qualities well, and made full use of them in building up the great fabric of his fame. The King sent back to Scotland many a military commander for the great events of later warfare, trained and instructed in discipline and strategy by the crowned leader of this wonderful army. Several of the leaders became, from their fidelity, valour, and intelligence, exceedingly renowned all over Europe. Among their names may be recorded Rutherford; Spence of Warminster, created by the Swedish king Count Orcholm; Alexander Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, entitled "Scoticani fœderis supremus dux;" Drummond, governor of Pomerania; Lindsay, Earl of Craufurd; Ramsay; Hepburn; Monro; and last, not least, Sir Patrick Ruthven, the most attached and loved of all the great king's Scotch followers.

[4] Life of Gustavus Adolphus by Harte; Schiller; Mitchell; Burton; Ankers; Fryxell's History of Sweden; Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon; and Biographies *passim*.

GODFREY HENRY, COUNT VON PAPPENHEIM,

AN IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

Born 1594. Died 1632.

No record appears to exist of the family, or province, from which this renowned warrior sprang. All that seems to be known of his infancy is, that, according to the superstitious traditions of the Ultra-Romanist communion, to which he belonged, he is said to have been marked from his very cradle for the great deeds of a warrior's life, and for a most glorious warrior's death, by a singular mark on his baby brow, which was thought to resemble cross swords, but which, nevertheless, in after life, only became visible to the eye on occasions when he was greatly excited in mind and temper. He is, however, stated on some authority to have been born in 1594, and to have been very nobly descended—"originally a baron." We also hear of him as a student at the Universities of Altorf and

Birth and education: early devotion to the Papal cause.

Tubingen, where he made himself remarkable for religious zeal, either as a convert or as a natural-born disciple of the Romish Church. It is believed that on quitting the Universities he travelled through France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, and that on his return from this tour he was appointed Aulic-Councillor of the Empire. He was, at any rate, at the capital when hostilities first broke out in the religious war in 1618, when his partisan fervour and enthusiasm led him to take up arms, and to enrol himself among the most devoted adherents of the Catholic League and the Imperial power. He served his first campaign in the Valtalina, and performed wonders at the siege of Chiavenna. It is probable, from many circumstances combined, that he received a high military rank very soon; but at any rate he was present in some command, and was wounded, at the battle of Prague, in 1620, where he obtained the reputation of a brave soldier and considerable military renown. This anecdote has been preserved of him,—that, when left for dead on the field, he firmly believed himself to be already in Purgatory, inasmuch as he was not conscious that he shared either the pleasures of heaven or the pains of hell.

Takes the field against the Swedes.

However, he recovered from his wounds, and lived to fight again; and we next hear of him in 1630, after the King of Sweden had landed with his army in Germany, and against whom he was sent by the Elector of Bavaria, at the head of 6000 men, to assist Torquato de Conti and Duke Savelli in Brandenburg. He there encountered Duke Christian William, who appeared in the field as Administrator of the Duchy of Magdeburg. Pappenheim, the most decisive and active general of those days, soon compelled such a novice in war, as this old prince was, to contract the conquests he had made, and at length reduced him to shelter his troops within the walls of that city, round which he formed as strict a blockade as his force permitted.

But Tilly, who commanded all the several armies in those parts, and was now advancing against Gustavus, ordered Pappenheim to march away from Magdeburg against the Duke Francis Charles of Saxe-Lauenberg, who had enlisted a body of soldiers in the districts around Hamburg and Lubeck, and was acting in the interests of the exiled Duke of Mecklenburg. Pappenheim, who is said to have exceeded most generals in the art of speedy marches, with great secrecy of enterprise, appeared suddenly before Ratzburg, a place of residence belonging to the family of Lauenberg, where he had secured the bridge, and the portcullis that defended it, before he was perceived by the garrison; upon which the reigning Duke, who was afraid to exasperate the Emperor, sent his brother Francis Charles to demand a truce, which was granted to him, and he was admitted into the palace with the generous promise that the family should not be injured for their conduct in taking up arms.

Gustavus Adolphus had in the mean while advanced from conquest to conquest, had secured Stettin, Frankfort, and Landsberg, and had no Imperialist army left to oppose him. Pappenheim, who seldom saw matters in a dejected and desponding spirit, now wrote to the Elector of Bavaria, "that the Emperor must fall, unless the whole united Catholic body supported him with all their money and forces; that Gustavus was already arbiter of the fate of Germany; that Frankfort and Landsberg were both in his possession; and that His Swedish Majesty might raise the siege of Magdeburg, as there was no sufficient Imperial army to oppose him." He accordingly demanded armies and money with much earnestness both for Tilly and himself.

As soon as Pappenheim had frustrated the attempt of the Duke of Lauenberg to impede the siege of Magdeburg, he returned to that city, drove the troops of the Administrator from their intrenchments, and

closely invested the place. He was soon followed by Tilly, who forthwith called on the Elector of Saxony to order Magdeburg to be surrendered to him for the Emperor. Pappenheim, acting probably under the orders of his superior, addressed himself to Count Falkenberg, an experienced officer,—whom the King of Sweden had sent into Magdeburg to assist the Administrator in his defence of the town,—and made that officer an offer by letter of a large sum of money, and the title of Count of the Empire, if he would surrender the place. Falkenberg ordered the trumpeter who brought in this communication into his presence, and, without writing any reply, sent back this verbal answer in the presence of all his officers, "That General Pappenheim might find the sort of men he wanted at home, but that Falkenberg was not a person of that character; and," he added, "mind, whoever comes here again on such an errand, shall receive a halter instead of a gold chain," which in those days was the present of honour. In the mean time, on the 30th of March, 1631, Tilly sat down before Magdeburg, and pushed the siege of it with vigour. An outwork called "Pappenheim's Fort," signifying that it was of such strength as to be worthy of attack by that general, was speedily taken sword in hand; and other outworks soon followed. One called the "Tollsconce," which commanded the bridge, was defended vigorously, and cost the Imperialists 500 men; nevertheless, though defended by Falkenberg himself, it could not be held, and was yielded up after destroying the bridge. The suburbs of Sudenberg and Neustadt were now also abandoned to the enemy; and Tilly, dividing the attack, sent Pappenheim across the Elbe at Schonenbeck, to attack the city from the opposite side; and in the rencontre which this brought on with the besieged Pappenheim was like to have been killed or taken prisoner.

The siege continued with various fortune into the

month of May, when the ammunition of the besieged was nearly expended, and the cannon of the town gradually ceased to reply to the fire of the Impérialists. On the 9th the fire of the besiegers suddenly stopped, and cannon were seen to be withdrawn from several of the batteries. A death-like stillness and suspense fell upon the town with almost insupportable heaviness. The besieged, convinced that deliverance was at hand, quitted their posts, and, after long toils, indulged in the refreshment of sleep. It is more than probable that Tilly intended to work this delusion upon them. Between the 9th and 10th, at about one o'clock in the morning, Pappenheim was summoned over the river to a council of war at the Generalissimo's quarters. With a most insatiate appetite for danger and fighting, and with the habit of thought that many things were done by the mere resolution to do them, Pappenheim, with a majority, pronounced for an assault, which was ordered for five o'clock in the morning. The General was ordered to attack the works of the new town, where the attempt would be favoured by a sloping rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth. His personal courage made him always the darling of the soldiers. He now placed himself at the head of the regiments of Pappenheim, Sayelli, and Gronsfeld, and of all the cavalry, whom he ordered to dismount and follow him. He easily forced the city soldiers out of the *fausse braye*, and obliged them to retreat behind the upper wall. He had taken the precaution of ordering each soldier to wear a white ribbon round the arm, that he might be recognized in the confusion, and gave the watchword (which was afterwards used at Leipzig) "Jésu Maria." The Imperialists under Pappenheim were here encountered by Falkenberg himself, at the head of all the troops he could collect together; and the assailants were repulsed and driven beyond the new work, but the Swedish governor was unfortunately mortally wounded, and carried back into the town: the roaring of mus-

ketry, the pealing of the alarm-bells, and the growing tumult, had awakened the citizens, who, hastily arming themselves, rushed blindly against the enemy. But whether their ammunition failed them, or that the news of the death of the governor had transpired, Pappenheim perceiving their courage to fail pushed forward, and at seven o'clock in the morning triumphantly entered the streets. He then opened the gates, and admitted the divisions of Holstein and Mansfeld into the town, which was soon in the hands of the Imperialists.

The Administrator, who had acted with great courage, and had received many wounds, was found by Pappenheim at this juncture most ignominiously treated, and stripped naked; and he would have been barbarously murdered, but for the General's humanity, who ordered him to be taken up and carried on two pikes to his tent; and on the following day he was sent on a couch to Wolmerstadt, attended by his own surgeon and chaplain. This merciful conduct may appear to justify Pappenheim from being the author or even the abettor of the monstrous scene of cruelty which followed on the occupation of Magdeburg by Tilly's army of Imperialists.

Tilly and Pappenheim encounter Gustavus Adolphus at Leipzig.

The entrance of the Generals on the 14th had at length put a stop to the sack of the place; and Tilly, after the performance of a Te Deum and a solemn mass in the cathedral, notified the fate of Magdeburg to the Protestant Princes in the tone of a conqueror. Many submitted at once under the general consternation; but the Landgrave of Hesse was of a different temper, not easily intimidated, and one of the most powerful of the Leipzig Confederation, and Tilly resolved to endeavour to bring him under submission; accordingly, leaving Pappenheim in command at Magdeburg, he marched straight into Thuringia. He had not gone from the city long, when the approach of the Swedish vanguard as near as the monastery of

Jericho, apprised Pappenheim that the King of Sweden was approaching; who, in fact, came down incontinently to the very bridge of Magdeburg, and forced the Imperialist garrison to retire within the city. Tilly was not far off, having only reached Mulhausen, and Pappenheim anxiously wrote to him, earnestly requiring him to return by rapid marches to Magdeburg. Tilly immediately came back to Leipzig, which he forthwith summoned to receive an Imperial garrison; and, the timid governor having opened its gates on the second day, he ordered Pappenheim to join him there; and on the morning of the 7th of September the Imperialist and Swedish armies came in sight of each other on the plain of Breitenfeld, not far from Leipzig.

It has been said, that Pappenheim was the only one of his opponents whom the King of Sweden regarded as a soldier, and that he feared none of their Generals excepting this "Balafré," as he called him; for although of the same age as Gustavus, who had only just entered his thirty-seventh year, yet he had earned a reputation, and already carried on his body the marks of a hundred wounds. Tilly would now even have deferred a fight, as he was expecting reinforcements; but the impetuosity of Pappenheim obliged him as soon as the enemy was in sight to alter his plans. In the council of war that was held on the occasion our hero even dared to impeach the courage of the Generalissimo, which touched to the very quick the sensibility of the veteran of thirty-five successful actions. The old man nevertheless determined in his own mind not to bring on a general engagement. There was, however, a little rivulet and dirty swamp, where only a few men could pass in front, near a small village, called Podelwitz, on the Loder. As soon as Pappenheim saw the Swedish and Saxon troops advancing into this defile, he advanced against them at the head of 2000 cuirassiers, and attacked the vanguard, which, after a brief struggle, was forced to retreat. Tilly saw this incident with vexation, but quickly descending from the

eminence on which he had placed himself, though much discomposed at it in his mind, he commanded his troops to advance in support of Pappenheim with so much ardour and precipitation, that he himself was left without the support of a proper body of reserve. When Pappenheim was informed that his wing was unsupported by any reserve, he appeared to hold the defect cheap; but Gustavus saw the fault, and pushed his onset against him so vigorously as to thrust him quite out of the line; but the Imperialist General returning to the charge seven times, and compelling Baner to come up to the King's assistance, was at length obliged to send to the Generalissimo for 2000 fresh horsemen. Notwithstanding this assistance, however, he was compelled to turn about and flee with great loss, and to abandon the field to the conqueror. In the confusion Pappenheim came up with sixteen troops of horse, near the city of Leipzig, and having mounted a fresh horse, led these again forward against the Swedes for a final effort; but the attempt not succeeding, he marched them away from the field, and conducted them to Mansfeld, where he first heard of the defeat of the army, and of the Generalissimo, who was reported to have been killed in the battle.

We do not hear of Pappenheim again until the King was at Mayence, carrying on his negotiations with France, when, either not knowing of the truce that had been established, or disregarding it, he is found in the ranks of the Spanish army that marched up to the assistance of the Catholic League. He afterwards commanded an army of the League in Lower Saxony, where he came across the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and gave them some disagreeable checks here and there; and, being ubiquitary at this period, he dexterously availed himself of the misunderstanding among the commanders that very nearly detached the King of Denmark from the Swedish alliance. He afterwards gave battle to the Swedish General Todt, and compelled him to raise the siege of Staden, into which

place he introduced three regiments, who succeeded in getting across the river Schwinga by some portable bridges of his own invention. It must be remembered, that all this time there was in fact no Imperial army.

Pappenheim is tempted to join the Spanish army.

A very singular incident regarding Pappenheim comes about this time into story from the pages of Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus;—no less than an offer from the Infanta Governess of the Netherlands to tempt him from the Imperial service into that of Spain by great pecuniary advantages, supposed to have equalled £16,000 sterling, together with the order of the Golden Fleece. It does not appear that any previous application had been made to the Court of Vienna upon the subject; but that it was addressed to the General direct, when in command of the Imperial army near Hanover. It would appear as if men in command of armies in those days acted quite upon their own discretion; so that, turning a deaf ear to the requests of the Elector of Bavaria, and treating with contempt the commands of Tilly or Wallenstein, Pappenheim thought he saw a new path opened to his ambition by the Infanta's proposal, and forthwith acted upon it. Having, therefore, put good garrisons in the strongest towns at his devotion, he left a part of his army under Gronsfeld to preserve the circles of Lower Saxony and Westphalia in their obedience, and, with 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, he marched off to Cologne, collecting contributions for their support as he proceeded through the district of Dortmund and Essen. The Elector connived at his entrance into his capital city, which gave him a passage across the Rhine; and thence, without meeting with any interruption, he proceeded through Aachen, and crossed the Meuse at Sittart. The Prince of Orange was near Maestricht; and General Pappenheim essayed to join himself with a Spanish army, under Don Gonsalvo di Cordova and the Marquis de Santa Croce, in order to fall upon the Dutch army. After a march which, from its rapidity and success, could hardly be paralleled, it was not with-

out considerable mortification that he found these two solemn and punctilious grandees resolved to postpone their master's honour to their own personal consequence. It was death to their Castilian pride to find a general coming out of the East ready to fight,—which was not at all their intention,—and assuming to supersede them there in their independent command. They responded to his proposals coldly, and with an air of irony observed, "that their Catholic Master did not require 'reiters and lasquenets[1]' to pave their way into Maestricht." Pappenheim felt their insolence, and saw into what a snare he had fallen; but he resolved at any rate to attempt something, even although it should prove his utter inability to perform a greater feat. He examined the Dutch position on the Wych, and early in the morning of the 7th August he set in order his little army to break through it sword in hand. A forlorn hope of 100 picked men, armed with swords and carbines, carried in their hands fascines and ladders, and were accompanied by a body of pioneers with spades and pickaxes. Two regiments in array formed the support; and the rest, infantry and cavalry, followed in compact order. No general had ever made a finer disposition for its purpose than this advance to an attack of a strong position by Pappenheim, who moved himself among the foremost, under such a fire from the Dutch works of artillery and musketry, as would have been deemed by most soldiers insupportable. But no courage could succeed against great odds both of armed men and strong intrenchments, when the Spanish army, 26,000 strong, kept close to their works, and did not budge an inch to save their comrade. At length, after more than ten hours' desperate service, and after eight or ten fruitless attacks, the Imperialist General was forced to sound a retreat, pitying his faithful and attached Germans, and pouring forth bitter invectives against the malevolent and insolent Casti-

[1] Two old words for German cavalry and infantry.

lians. He left 2000 of his best soldiers dead on the field, and most of his most valued officers were killed or maimed. Indeed both Pappenheim himself and the horse he rode were wounded in many places; but Prince Henry, who commanded the Dutch army, was contented with his escape, and did not deem it safe to pursue him a single step. However, it was useless for Pappenheim to pursue any further military operations in the Low Countries, under the circumstances in which he found himself; and at the end of six weeks he had again returned to Westphalia, where Gronsfeld greatly needed his assistance. This campaign of Pappenheim beyond the Rhine deserves more consideration than it appears to have received (for it is not noticed, I think, in Schiller's History), because it is probable that the Golden Fleece, and the favour of the Infanta Isabella haunted his imagination very strongly when, on the eve of the battle of Lutzen, he obtained permission from Wallenstein to march away from the projected winter-quarters in Misnia, to hasten to Halle, on his march back to Cologne. There is reason to believe, however, that Pappenheim was not a man to have been swayed by money and honours; but he fancied he saw a new path opened to glory, that might enable him the better to rival the reputation of Gustavus, Tilly, and Wallenstein.

Pappenheim effects a junction with Wallenstein.

But, not to anticipate events, it has first to be related that, after refreshing his army, now reinforced with that of Gronsfeld, he resolved to attack Bauditzen, whom he compelled to cross the Weser on the 20th September; and, following after him, compelled also the Duke of Lunenburg to raise the siege of Wolfenbuttel. The Confederate generals had been every where making great progress during his absence; and both the Elector of Bavaria and Wallenstein had expedited many expresses, which met him on the road, urging his presence in the Imperial camp near Nuremberg. He therefore passed through Hildesheim,—where he exacted a heavy contribution,—and pushed on to Mulhausen, which he

also laid under tribute. His march was perilous and extraordinary; for he was constantly in the vicinity of Swedish generals and adherents, who, however, durst not attempt to stop the impetuous career of the Imperialist General. At length he came up with Wallenstein's army, with which he effected a junction at Merseburg on the 28th October.

The high military reputation of Pappenheim, and the extraordinary power he possessed, through his bold, strong sense, of influencing men in military affairs, overcame the sullen reserve and habitual impracticability of Wallenstein, and induced that great leader to adopt a new system of operations:—this was, to cross the Saale without delay, and to occupy Weimar and Erfurt, and the principal débouches out of the forest of Thuringia. But before this undertaking could be carried out, news was brought that the King of Sweden had already arrived with his army on the banks of the Saale. The Generalissimo forthwith sent couriers to recall 10,000 troops, who had been sent under Galas towards Bohemia, and took other measures to collect an army of 40,000 men, with no contemptible train of heavy artillery; for he did not apprehend that Gustavus Adolphus, who had brought up with him no more than 18,000 men, would have the confidence to undertake the offensive against such a force, which had a perfect choice of ground on which to intrench themselves.

Pappenheim takes Halle.

It would seem that the Government of the Infanta Isabella had in some degree explained away, or apologized for, the conduct of the Spanish generals; or, at any rate, that fresh offers had been made to Pappenheim to induce him to transfer his army once again to maintain a check upon the Dutch aggressions, which now threatened the important city of Cologne, and its bridge upon the Rhine. Otherwise it is scarcely possible to understand what could have influenced Pappenheim, at the particular juncture that followed the foregoing advice to the Generalissimo, to put

the Imperial army into winter-quarters, and to permit him to march away with a great portion of it with orders to take possession of Maritzburg, in the territory of Halle, and to proceed with all haste to secure possession of the Electoral city. At all events, Pappenheim marched away on the 4th November, and took possession of the town of Halle. Wallenstein was utterly thunderstruck at the audacious movement of Gustavus against him on the 5th; for, after sending away Pappenheim's army, he had little more than 12,000 men to oppose to the King's 20,000. Messengers were, however, hastily sent to recall the detachment; and, as Halle was only five German miles distant, the Generalissimo thought he could maintain his ground in the wide plain between the Canal and Lutzen until the return of the detached force.

Pappenheim is mortally wounded in action.

It happened untowardly, that when Wallenstein's messengers found Pappenheim at Halle, his foot soldiers had dispersed round about that town and Merseburg in quest of plunder; so that in the emergency of the moment he could only assemble his cuirassiers and dragoons, who did not all together exceed 7000 combatants; but at their head he at once galloped at full speed for Lutzen, to share in the battle. He arrived in time to witness the flight of 1000 German cavalry, who had been seized with a panic, and were in the act of being pursued by Gustavus Horn when Pappenheim met them. With ready presence of mind he rallied the flying troops, and led them once more against the enemy. Carried away by his wild bravery, and impatient to encounter the King (of whose death he was not yet apprised, and whom he supposed to be opposite the Imperial right wing), he burst furiously upon the Swedish ranks, which, exhausted by victory, and inferior in numbers, were after a noble resistance overpowered by this fresh body of assailants. Pappenheim's unexpected appearance revived the drooping courage of the Imperialists; for the name of that com-

mander was sufficient to revive their ardour at any moment of danger, since, though the succour he brought was short in numbers, his cavalry was the best seasoned of all that served under the ensigns of the League. The Duke of Friedland quickly re-formed his line, and might be seen with cool intrepidity riding through the ranks amidst showers of balls. Piccolomini, at the head of other Imperial cavalry, with equal intrepidity, had seven horses shot under him, and was pierced with six balls. But while Pappenheim was making his dispositions at the head of the right wing, he received a stroke from a falcon-shot, that shattered his thigh. The wound stunned him for a few moments; but when he recovered his senses, he instantly perceived that it was the stroke of death. A coach conveyed him out of the battle, and his chaplain, whom he immediately sent for, attended him to the Castle of Pleissenberg in Leipzig.

His last words and death.

He sent an adjutant to Wallenstein, with this command, "Tell him that what I have received is enough for my purpose; but tell him also that I have preserved the Catholic religion, and rendered the Emperor a freeman." He had heard on his road a murmur that ran through the ranks, that he whom he had so eagerly sought to meet was already dead on the plain. When the truth of the report was confirmed to him, his look became brighter, and his dying eye sparkled with a last gleam of joy. "You may add to the Duke of Friedland," said he to his adjutant, "that I lie without hope of life; but that I die happy, since I know that the implacable enemy of my religion has fallen the same day." He then faced death with the same tranquillity in his bed as he had done on innumerable occasions on the field of battle; and having been born in the same year with Gustavus, he now sank, having only exceeded his great rival in age by about six months and a few days. It is said, that while lying on his bed in the last agonies of life, the wonderful mark on the

forehead of the General, which the superstition of his co-religionists had noticed in his cradle, came out again with renewed and singular clearness.

His character.

Pappenheim was not only a contemporary of Gustavus, but he affected to resemble him in all things, —in the similitude of his nativity and horoscope, in the manner of adjusting his hair, in riding a white palfrey, as well as in bravery and judgment; but, what was indeed more difficult, he did indeed resemble the King of Sweden in good morals and piety. Schiller calls him "the Telamon of the army, the bravest soldier of Austria and the Church." He was a wonderful soldier; ever foremost in the charge and crisis of a battle; and his body was, as has been related, gashed and seamed by above a hundred wounds. He received fourteen wounds in the two battles of Leipzig and Prague alone; and he had shared in forty-four other battles and rencounters. He was most in his glory at the head of a charge of cavalry. He obtained from the Emperor the title of Count, with the addition of "Illustrissimo," for his services, and should have received the order of the Golden Fleece, which had been promised him for his expedition into the Netherlands. Gustavus Adolphus always held Pappenheim in the greatest respect, not only for his personal intrepidity, but for his inventive genius in marches, attacks, and stratagems.

His high moral and religious principles. Effect of these upon the military character.

Gustavus and Pappenheim were the most moral and religious persons in the respective armies; and it may safely be affirmed, in opposition to a very popular notion to the contrary, that the religious and good man stands the best chance to be the bravest too. Moderation, humanity, decorum, order, and, above all, the efficiency of a good example, are unquestionably military virtues and qualities that should be prescribed to the profession of a warrior. Wicked men, doubtless, have been often found very brave, yet such can never contemplate death as seriously and composedly as one who regards it with resignation and (I may add) reli-

gious faith. A courage prompted by passion only, and not by the judgment, must be hurried and agitated more or less. The fire will be fierce, but not clear; and the excitement counterworks that presence of mind, which is, after all, the greatest attribute in any leader [2].

The famous Prussian General, Zieten, was also a bright example of a religious hero. His piety was neither mechanical nor servile: his sentiments upon all religious subjects were pure and simple. He considered it as the homage of the creature to the Supreme Creator, not in the craven spirit of seeking to appease the Divine wrath, or of truckling to Providence for some personal preservation or advantage. As long as his health permitted, he was a constant frequenter of public worship, and at no time was he neglectful of the duty of private prayer; so that, when once twitted by a young prince for his *methodism*, he replied in the words addressed to Condé by De Navailles, "Your Highness, I fancy, sees now that those who pray to God behave as well in a battle as their neighbours." There is, nevertheless, nothing that is good for us, in any degree, that may not degenerate into abuse or absurdity. Dr. Moore, the traveller, relates the practice adopted in one of the small German courts to bring the devotions of the soldier under the direction of the superior officer. The following is given as part of the military manœuvres at the guard mounting at Manheim: "The major flourishes his cane: the drum gives a single tap, and every man under arms raises his hand to his hat. At the second stroke of the drum they take off their hats, and are supposed to pray. At a third they are considered to have finished their petitions, and put on their hats; but if any man has the assurance to protract his prayer a minute longer than the drum indicates, he is punished on the spot, and taught to be less devout for the future."

[2] Harte; Schiller; Biographie Universelle.

ALBRECHT VON WALDSTEIN, WALSTEIN, OR WALLENSTEIN,

AN IMPERIAL GENERAL, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND, SAGAN, GLOGAU, AND MECKLENBURG.

Born 1583. Died 1634.

His birth, parentage, and early education.

THIS renowned and extraordinary man was the son of a Moravian Baron, and was born at his father's Castle of Hermanic, in that province, and came of the ancient race of Waldstein, well known in the annals of the kingdom of Bohemia. His mother belonged to a family which had adopted the principles of the Reformation, and doubtless Albrecht was a Protestant up to his fourteenth year, when, having lost both father and mother, he was admitted into the Jesuits' College at Olmutz, where he was *perverted* to the Roman faith. He began life as a page to the Markgraf of Burgau, son of the Archduke, who was afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand, and was remarkable in his youth for a

stubborn, proud, and aspiring disposition, and would say, "If I am not a prince, I may become one;" and it is related of him, that while at the University of Goldben, he fell from one of the highest windows at the top of the building, without receiving any injury; and that this extraordinary escape influenced all his conduct in life, for he early entertained the strongest presentiment of his future greatness. This had the effect of generating extreme presumption in his mind, and the most reckless extravagance in his habits of life. He commenced his military career upon the staff of the famous Spanish adventurer, George Basta, *maestro di campo generale*, in Hungary, 1605-6, where he made the acquaintance, when he was about twenty-three years of age, of the Frau Wiezkova, a very wealthy widow, to whom he paid his addresses, and after a short courtship married. But in a fit of jealousy she administered to him a "philter," or love potion, from which he narrowly escaped death. They continued to live together, however, till 1614, when she died, and left him all her property, which was very considerable.

His first campaign.

The love of enterprise in Wallenstein was such, that he raised a body of horse at his own expense, and followed the Archduke Ferdinand at the head of it in a war against the Venetians, in which he assisted at the battle of Gradisca, in Friuli. Here the abilities which he displayed obtained for him great reputation. He was afterwards employed as Major-General in Moravia, where he defeated a Hungarian army. He was subsequently invited to the capital of the Emperor Mathias, who created him a Count of the Empire. It was at this period that he made a second and equally advantageous marriage with the Countess Harrack, a lady of immense fortune, whose affluence was, nevertheless, exceeded by her beauty, piety, and virtue. Her father was Prime Minister and Grand Mareschal of the Court of the Emperor, and the hereditary master of the horse. Wallenstein now applied the great

wealth he had obtained in the purchase of confiscated properties; and, it is said, that either from some occult alchymy, or from the knowledge he had acquired of metallurgy, he was enabled to pay for these properties to considerable advantage by the adulteration of the coin, by which he obtained large profits in the exchange. At all events, he gained fabulous wealth, and now began to associate, by means of his wife's relations, with the highest nobles of the Empire. On the first breaking out of the war in Bohemia, in 1618, his popularity in his native country was such, that he was offered the post of General to the Bohemian forces; but he declined their proposal, and adopted the side of his Sovereign, in whose family he had been brought up. The Emperor Ferdinand had entered upon the war with no very great military preparations, and no experience; but he had succeeded with little difficulty in putting down the Bohemian rebellion, which Maximilian of Bavaria had indeed effected with the aid of his renowned General Tilly, as Executor of the Ban of the Empire. But it ill accorded with the grand schemes entertained by the Emperor Ferdinand, who was at once monarch and bigot, to own the superiority of a vassal; and he felt that a strong army under his own orders could alone free him from further dependence on Bavaria, and restore to him his pre-eminence in Germany. Under these circumstances nothing could be more welcome than the proposal which was at this time made to him by Wallenstein. He offered to raise a body of troops for the Emperor, upon condition that he was made a Field-General, which was at that period a very great post, having a Lieutenant-General under him; and he undertook to raise, clothe, and arm from 40,000 to 50,000 men at his own expense and that of his friends. The project was ridiculed by the nobles of the Court, as the chimerical suggestion of a presumptuous visionary; but the proposal was gladly accepted by the Emperor, who assigned to him

certain circles as depôts for this armament, and gave him authority to appoint his own officers. Indeed Ferdinand was glad enough to give this armament nothing but his name. In a few months Wallenstein led an Imperial army of 20,000 men into the field, the first that had borne such a name in reality during this war; but it was almost as menacing to the members of the Catholic League as it was to the Protestant Union. The great reputation that Wallenstein sought to obtain for himself, was the attainment of supreme power, and the hope of wealth by plunder. This latter attracted to his standard adventurers from all quarters of Germany; and even the Sovereign Princes, stimulated by the desire of glory or gain, offered to raise regiments after his example, for the service of the house of Hapsburg. Wallenstein soon appeared in the field with a force augmented to 30,000 men; and understanding that the Viennese had been incited to revolt, and had even forced their way into the Kaiser's palace to demand the free exercise of their religion, the new Generalissimo, as soon as he received information of this proceeding, came down to Ferdinand's relief with great activity. The war soon rolled back into Bohemia; and Wallenstein was attached to the united armies of the Emperor and Duke of Bavaria, with instructions to serve under Count Tilly's orders. But already he showed great jealousy of that eminent commander's fame, and evinced no disposition to share with him the laurels of the campaign; nor was he contented, in the splendour of a rival's achievements, to becloud his own. He therefore resolved to act entirely independently of Tilly, but to support the general scheme of the campaign according to his own ideas. Accordingly, he was not present at the battle of Prague in 1620, when the Elector Palatine was driven out of his newly-acquired kingdom of Bohemia; but he went with his army into Moravia, where, on the 18th October, 1621, he gained a victory at Kremser; and in 1623 he proceeded against Gabor, Prince

of Transylvania, whom he soon reduced to submission. As he had not resources, like Tilly, for supplying the wants of his army of volunteers, he was obliged to hold his ground in the midst of fertile countries, which had not been ravaged by the war; and it was from the vast gains he obtained in the first three years' service in the field, that he was enabled to purchase at a fifth of its value the Duchy of Friedland, which the Emperor in reward for his services confirmed to him by grant.

His luxurious private habits, and his mode of gratifying them.

The wealth which the war had already obtained for Wallenstein was expended most profusely, and the most incredible stories are current respecting his extravagant style of living. He loved the splendour of a magnificent table, but restrained himself to strict moderation both in eating and drinking. Indeed he mostly affected to eat alone; for it was a maxim with him, that a Commander-in-Chief should never familiarize himself with his Generals; yet he copied Scipio in rewards, as he did Hannibal in punishments: but while he employed many severities and peculiarities, he had a generosity beyond what appeared in any subject. His munificence was supported by an income estimated at three millions of florins yearly, obtained from many sources. He purchased at small cost the properties he himself confiscated. He had learned the lesson from the Protestant General Mansfeld, "that war should be made to support war;" but the scholar soon surpassed his master. If Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick had provided for their armies by contributions levied indiscriminately on friend or foe, what might not be obtained when the army raised was numerous enough to overawe the most powerful vassals of the empire, and when the name of the Emperor ensured immunity to every outrage? Wallenstein found that the more he augmented his army, the less he had to fear for their subsistence; for the whole of Germany became a general magazine for the Imperial troops. Universal was the clamour to the Imperial

throne for redress; but the general discontent was at first equally against the Emperor, who had lent his name to these barbarities, as against the General who had exceeded his commission in enforcing them. But the latter no sooner felt himself powerful and absolute, than he threw off his obedience to his Sovereign. As soon, however, as breathing-time was obtained, the Princes of the Catholic party, assembled at the Diet of Ratisbon, began openly to express displeasure at the ostentation and influence of the Duke of Friedland, whom they regarded as an upstart and an ambitious adventurer. Many of those who had suffered from the devastations of his licentious army increased the cry; moreover, the priests were to a man against him. His elevation of sentiment, and clearness of understanding, had perhaps exalted him above the religious prejudices of his age, and the Jesuits never forgive an aspiring convert. He had been their scholar, and had seen through their system, which he now openly contemned. He regarded the Pope as no more than Bishop of Rome, and would not trouble himself at all as to the Papal dogmas, excepting with a haughty disdain.

Leads the Imperialists against the King of Denmark.

The difficulties of the Emperor were increasing in 1625, and he was again under the necessity of appealing to his mighty subject, the Duke of Friedland, for his co-operation, who forthwith, at his earnest entreaty, came into the field, at the head of two armies of 50,000 men each. This enormous force had been raised and maintained without burthening the Emperor's private resources with a single florin. He received orders to unite his forces with the troops of the League, and, in conjunction with Tilly, to attack the King of Denmark, in the north-west of the empire. His personal aversion to the Bavarian General-in-Chief still continued; and disobeying, therefore, the order to form a junction with Tilly, he marched into the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and established his head-quarters at Dessau, where the possession of the bridge over the

Elbe enabled him to carry on the war on whichever side of that river he might prefer, either to attack the Danish King in rear of the quarters of his assembled army, or, if more desirable, to enter the territories of that Sovereign. Christian IV. was at this juncture King of Denmark, and saw with dismay his dangerous position between the two armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, which induced him to call up the celebrated Mansfeld to his assistance. This able General of the Confederate Princes immediately fell upon Wallenstein, and so unexpectedly, that at first he obtained possession of the bridge of Dessau, although he failed in his attempt to burn it. But the tables were soon turned, and Mansfeld was forced to retreat. He, however, continued to keep at bay the Imperialist army, and to prevent its junction with Tilly's; which was not a difficult operation, seeing that the enemy's general desired it as much as himself. Mansfeld, with prudent boldness, went so far as to intrench himself in presence of the Imperial lines; so that Wallenstein sent General Aldringer against him, when a severe fight ensued, which ended in the Confederate General being obliged to abandon his post, with the loss of 3000 killed. Mansfeld on this withdrew into Brandenburg, where he soon recruited and reinforced his army, and suddenly returned to fall upon Moravia and Silesia, with a view of penetrating into Hungary, and there forming a junction with Bethlem Gabor[1]. Tilly therefore fell upon King

[1] This man's history constantly comes across our biographies, and it may be interesting to know something of him. His true name was Gabriel Bethlem, but the Transylvanians place the surname after the Christian, and Gabor means Gabriel. He figures continually in the history of the Thirty Years' War, yet never with any effect, but was a very remarkable character. He passed his life in arms from the seventeenth year of his age, and had been in forty-two battles. He was affable, polite, and intriguing, ambitious, artful, reserved, and treacherous,—served all, sold all, and betrayed all. He had risen from the simple rank of a gentleman to the attainment of the Government of Transylvania by

Christian, who was now isolated, but had occupied the bishoprics of Munster and Osnaburg, threatening a further inroad into the territories of the League. To check these movements, Tilly removed the seat of the war to the banks of the Weser; and Wallenstein was ordered to pursue Mansfeld, who, being disappointed of the assistance of some reinforcements promised by England, had with only 30,000 men succeeded with considerable address to secure himself behind the river Bober, there to await the assistance of Gabor, whose ardour however had begun to cool with the adversities of the Protestant cause; and he had, as usual, made his own terms. Mansfeld, therefore, cut off from Germany, and unable to maintain his army in Hungary, sold his artillery and baggage, and, disbanding his soldiers, fled with a few adherents towards Italy, where he died.

Dunbar, with a Scottish detachment, bravely resists the Imperialists.

1627. Wallenstein's army being in without an adversary in the hereditary dominions, was recalled to Tilly's assistance in the North of Germany, and marched straight for Holstein, to threaten the King of Denmark's dominions. Along with other field-works, which Christian had thrown up to impede the advance of the Imperialists, was a bridge-head on the left bank of the Elbe, near Boizenburg. This bridge-head was garrisoned by four companies of Scottish infantry, under

driving the Prince Bathori out of it in 1613; but maintained a constant hostility to the Emperor, which he turned considerably to his profit; first by assuming the crown of Hungary in 1618, and then bartering it back again for Imperial concessions, obtaining, amongst other grants, the famous vineyard of Tokay. He died 1618, in his fifty-ninth year, having passed his whole existence in one continual storm of his own creating. His restless and turbulent spirit never allowed him to be idle for a single year. He was always fishing in troubled waters, and no treaty could bind him, nor any amount of money ever secure him. He would constantly change sides, either for the sake of changing, or for the sake of making a better bargain, without the least scruple or a particle of principle.

the command of one Major Dunbar, who so effectually defended themselves, that they forced the Imperial General to raise the siege after three fruitless assaults. The Scots, it is said, contested these assaults, in default of bayonets, which had not yet been introduced, with musket-fire, as long as their powder lasted; and then they threw sand into the faces of the assailants, and slung stones, consummating their vigorous defence with the butt ends of their muskets. The same Major Dunbar was domiciled with his Scotsmen for their quarters in Breitenburg Castle, belonging to the ancient family of Rantzau, in Holstein, which still retained the appearance, and something also of the strength, of the old baronial castles of the middle ages. It was then surrounded by an old, ill-flanked wall, and by a ditch; which latter was, however, partially filled up. Here, nevertheless, he endured a six-days' cannonade, followed by an assault on the seventh day; and the defenders, acting under the energy of almost despair—for they well appreciated the consequences of capture—resisted in a hand-to-hand encounter, and made a most determined resistance[2].

Wallenstein attacks the King of Denmark: seeks his own aggrandizement.

In the interval Wallenstein had overrun the principality of Sagan, in the valley of the Bober, in Silesia; and, having laid it waste, obtained a grant of it from the Emperor. In the following year, 1628, he repaired to Vienna, and demanded further, that, if he could conquer the dominions of the King of Denmark, he might receive that also as a kingdom. The Emperor objected to this, that the Danish crown was too precarious a possession; and Wallenstein was probably put off by the Imperial councillors from any definite concession of a request which, at that moment, was both premature and impolitic; and he rejoined his army, when, persuading Tilly to watch the country on either side of the Elbe, he poured all his forces upon the Danish

[2] Mitchell.

King, in order that he might the more speedily crush him, and reap for himself the personal advantages he yet hoped to obtain. Wallenstein unscrupulously required from the districts of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, which he had overrun, large resources in men, money, and provisions, so that with these contributions he made his Imperial army very strong, and got it into the most perfect order. If credit is to be given to the statements of contemporary writers, Wallenstein had already, during his seven years' command, exacted not less than sixty thousand millions of dollars from the provinces of Germany. The greater his extortions, the greater the rewards to his followers. Numberless commissions to colonelcies and to inferior commands, immoderate largesses to his favourites (for it was his custom never to give a less sum than 1000 florins), increased his influence enormously; and he lavished yet larger sums in corrupting the members of the Imperial Court, while he yet at the same time maintained his condition of Commander-in-Chief with regal pomp. Every thing was done hitherto, it is true, in the name of the Emperor; for the object of Wallenstein was consistently to depress the Princes, to crush the authority of the minor states, and to elevate the Imperial power above all competition. If the Emperor could be rendered absolute, who would be able to dispute the will of the man who swayed the execution of his will at the head of a powerful and devoted army? His soldiers adored such a leader; for they flourished, while all the princes, and nobles, and peasantry of the countries through which he passed, withered. He allowed no precedence of quality throughout his army, not even from the Princes, but ordered each officer to take his place according to his military rank and station. His arrogance was such, that he would even reject an officer who came to him with an Imperial recommendation in his pocket, unless he was prepared to acknowledge the favour as from himself. The height to which Wallen-

stein raised the Imperial authority astonished even the Emperor; but his design unquestionably was, that his Sovereign should stand in fear of no one in all Germany beside himself, the source and engine of his despotic power. He cared nothing, however, himself for popularity from his equals, and less for the detestation of the people, or the complaints of the Sovereigns, but was ready to bid a general defiance to all consequences [3].

Demands the cession of Mecklenburg.

As a step towards the further end of his ambition, Wallenstein now demanded of the Emperor the cession of Mecklenburg, as a pledge for the repayment of the expenses of the war. In vain was this new demand resisted by the Imperial Council; the powerful influence of the prosperous General had increased considerably, and the support he had purchased from the Imperial councillors had augmented it to such an extent, that, in order to secure the devotion of so indispensable an agent to his cause, Ferdinand, in 1628, expelled one of the oldest German houses, in order that a creature of his own raising might be enriched by the spoil of that duchy.

Lays siege to Stralsund.

The King of Denmark, knowing well the extent of Wallenstein's ambition, who thus became his neighbour, trembled in his capital. Wismar had been seized and taken, and a firm footing was already obtained by the powerful General on the shores of the Baltic; but Wallenstein found himself sadly inconvenienced by the want of shipping to co-operate with him against Christian, who was enabled to bring considerable naval power to defend his insular States, while the Imperial General thirsted to carry the war even across to Jutland, and to compel the King, in his capital of Copenhagen, to sue for peace. Tilly had already advanced to the town of Stade in the duchy of Bremen; and Arnheim, at the head of a Saxon force, under Wallenstein's command,

[3] Schiller.

had seized the island of Rugen. The Generalissimo therefore boldly sat down before Stralsund, whose excellent harbour, and the short passage from it to the Swedish and Danish shores, fitted it for an excellent naval station for his object. The Duke of Friedland therefore invested the town on the 23rd May, 1628. Christian accordingly sent a sufficient garrison into it; and now animated the defence by his presence and his vessels. Some ships of war, which had been sent by Sigismund, King of Poland, to the assistance of the Imperialist General, were sunk by the Danish fleet. Wallenstein nevertheless strove to gain possession of Stralsund in order to give the law by this intermediate possession to both Denmark and Sweden, and especially to invade the former. He therefore despatched Schwarzenberg to the Hanse Towns to demand some shipping, but had been answered, that the said towns had interests of their own to consult, and confederacies and alliances with the neighbouring Princes, which precluded them from lending their aid to either side of the quarrel. Wallenstein was angry that he could not get ships enough even to blockade this single harbour that he was besieging; but he nevertheless procured an Imperial patent to be Admiral of the Baltic, and accordingly assumed the title of Generalissimo of the Emperor by Sea and Land. Some biographers assert that Wallenstein, indignant at finding that the sea now arrested his progress, ordered red-hot shot to be fired into the rebellious element, which appeared resolved to arrest his career of conquest. Such puerile acts are often related of mighty conquerors, whose wills and passions, inflated by flatterers, often mislead their real abilities and sound judgment.

Nothing could be deemed more adventurous than to attempt the conquest of a strongly fortified seaport like Stralsund, without the means of first blockading its harbour. But Wallenstein, who had never yet ex-

perienced a check, expected, with the ordinary arrogance of such men, to conquer nature itself, and to perform impossibilities; so that he exclaimed, "I will take this place, even though it were fastened by a chain of adamant to the heavens." He now endeavoured by artful and boastful menaces to supply his want of real strength. He demanded winter-quarters, through Arnheim, his camp-master-general, for an immense increase of soldiers. He poured regiments into Pomerania, like swarms of locusts. He even sent Colonel Goetz into the besieged town, to request a passage for only a small body of troops; but the authorities, of course, saw through the artifice, and refused the request. He even demanded that Stralsund should receive an Imperial garrison; which was firmly, but with all due respect to the Emperor, rejected by the magistracy. After having exhausted every wile without effect, he at length desired Arnheim to invest the town; but Stralsund, always open to the sea, continued to be supplied, as before, with provisions and reinforcements. Wallenstein, however, pushed on his assaults with all the fury and energy that resentment could inspire; and the Danes soon found the defence of the place beyond their strength. Gustavus, however, had taken an early opportunity of sending some Swedish troops to its assistance; and Christian, in the end, cast the burden entirely upon the King of Sweden's shoulders, who sent a body of his Scotchmen, under Sir Alexander Leslie, as Governor; when for three months the siege was stoutly resisted, and Wallenstein's good fortune seemed to have turned the balance. The struggle was costly; 12,000 Imperialists had already fallen in the vain attempt, until the Emperor, urged by some of the Princes, ordered his General to retire from the siege. But Wallenstein spurned the command, and continued to harass the besieged with incessant assaults. The Swedes continued as gloriously to defend it as their Scandinavian brethren had done before; and the introduction of this

soldiery into the war greatly facilitated the subsequent arrival of Gustavus Adolphus himself upon the scene; and their heroic defence of Stralsund gave great encouragement to the Confederates to seek the aid of Sweden in the depth of their necessities.

The siege of Stralsund raised. Wallenstein negotiates with Denmark.

Wallenstein's tide of fortune now visibly forsook him; and his pride also experienced a rude humiliation by the necessity he was at length reduced to of relinquishing his prey; when, after many months' resistance, he raised the siege on the 31st July. He had exposed himself to many mortifications in the childish obstinacy with which he had so fruitlessly persevered for many months. In the eagerness to attain the object of the moment, and in the characteristic impetuosity of his character, it was not till he had relinquished this main point of his strategy, that he awoke to the necessary policy of a Duke of Mecklenburg, to be at peace with Denmark. The friendship of Christian IV., whose neighbour Wallenstein had become by this new acquisition, was in truth an essential element to his ambitious views; and therefore he covered his failure at Stralsund by resolving, even at the sacrifice of his Sovereign's interests, to secure his alliance. With this view he entered into negotiations with Christian at Lubeck in 1629. The King was bound by treaty not to conclude any measures without the consent of Sweden; nevertheless, he accepted Wallenstein's proposals. When however, with studied contempt, the Imperialist Generalissimo insisted upon excluding from this Congress the Swedish Ambassadors, who had intruded themselves into it undisguisedly to intercede for Mecklenburg, Christian IV. broke with Sweden, and very meanly and ingloriously retired from the Confederate League at this juncture, giving up the contest, making the best terms he could for himself, and throwing over his relations and friends, the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Mecklenburg, whom he unscrupulously left to their fate.

Though his failure before Stralsund had somewhat impaired the *prestige* of this great Commander, yet it was not in his military operations alone that unstable fortune now turned against him; the hostility of the Church was at this time opened upon Wallenstein with all its most bitter determination to work his downfall; and it is the judgment of Schiller, "that no one ever yet came to a fortunate end who quarrelled with the Church." Wallenstein will be found in this respect, as in many other matters, to have fulfilled the judgment of the historian. The Jesuit party had been enabled, without a great deal of difficulty, to make Ferdinand jealous of the Generalissimo's fidelity; and now that the peace of Lubeck had delivered the Emperor from all apprehensions from the North of Europe, and that he saw the Protestant Princes entirely powerless and at his feet, Ferdinand signed what was termed "the Edict of Restitution" against them; and listened at the same time to the complaints which had arisen to a height against his great subject, filling the Imperial ear with the most fearful description of his outrages, and of his contempt of all authority. Informed of the cabals that were forming against him, the Duke of Friedland adopted the boldest course. He thought to overawe his enemies by his presence, and repaired in person to Ratisbon, where the Emperor held the Diet. He was accompanied to the sitting with a pomp that threw that of his Imperial master quite into the shade, and very much aggravated every existing prejudice against him. The Duke of Mecklenburg, as he had now become, soon discovered however that he was isolated, and had not any trusty friends at the Diet. He therefore speedily returned to the head of his army, where most of the officers were his creatures, and where, with the common soldiers, "a nod was as good as a wink," for any purpose that he might resolve upon. The Princes of the League, headed by the Elector of Bavaria, were consequently left at liberty to mature a severe revenge

The Emperor deprives Wallenstein of his command.

on Wallenstein. They unanimously demanded from Ferdinand his dismissal from the command of the army. The Emperor remained long undecided. He felt how much he might lose in yielding to the indignation of the Princes a man who had armed him with much of his supreme power. There was no doubt at all that he owed his preponderance in the councils of the empire almost solely to the power he had acquired by means of the Duke of Friedland. But, as in all matters of State, so there were other considerations to be regarded. His son Ferdinand had been already chosen King of Hungary; and, in order to obtain for him the election of his successor to the Empire, he was under the necessity of conciliating the Electors. For this purpose he was obliged to give weight to the influences extorted by them for the removal of Wallenstein. Moreover, in the complicated wiles of the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, a Capuchin friar, named Father Joseph, found his way to Ratisbon. The voice of a monk was to Ferdinand II. the voice of God. Nothing on earth was more sacred in his eyes than a Priest. The cup now overflowed, and Wallenstein's dismissal was resolved upon[4]. But the Generalissimo was at the head of an army of 100,000 men. As soon, therefore, as the sentence of his dismissal from command reached him at his head-quarters (which was brought by two of his most intimate friends, to soften the evil tidings), he had scarcely sufficient time to carry out a bold resistance against it, even if he had contemplated it. He saw his estates so scattered, that, in the event of his disobedience, a single word from his Sovereign for their confiscation might at once destroy all the sinews of his power. Moreover, he read in the stars that his brilliant career was not yet ended; and he was politician enough to calculate that the decision adopted by Ferdinand at Ratisbon—of war with Sweden—might bring Gustavus Adolphus as an enemy into

[4] Schiller.

the field, which might soon render it indispensable to recall his services for the defence of the Empire. He therefore said to the messengers, "The Emperor is betrayed. I grieve that His Majesty has had the weakness to listen to evil counsel, and to sacrifice me; but I will obey." He then took leave of the emissaries with costly presents, and transmitted his profession of obedience in an humble letter to his Sovereign, in which he dutifully besought the continuance of the Emperor's favour.

Magnificence of his palace, and luxuriousness of his habits.

But the dull repose of private life was any thing but congenial to the ambitious mind of Wallenstein. In his retreat he sought other excitement, and surrounded himself with a pomp that appeared to mock the sentence of degradation, and to cast his prosperity into the teeth of his enemies. It is said that the palace which he inhabited at Prague was constructed from the spoils of a hundred palaces of Sovereigns and Princes, which he had destroyed. Six gates conducted into its court-yard; to form which a hundred houses had been pulled down and removed. The stables were gorgeous. Each stall was an intercolumniation of pillars of the richest and most beautiful marbles: the mangers were of polished steel; and before every horse his picture was suspended on the wall. Gentlemen of the noblest houses contended for the honour of serving him, and even the chamberlains of the Emperor resigned their gold keys to take similar office under Wallenstein. His antechamber was occupied by fifty lifeguards, and he maintained sixty pages of honour about his person. His table never consisted of less than 100 covers; and his seneschal was a nobleman of rank. When he travelled, he was followed by 100 *fourgons*, drawn by four or six horses. He had fifty led horses, and his personal suite filled sixty carriages. The pomp of his liveries, the splendour of his equipages, and the decoration of his apartments were in keeping with all this display. A guard mounted at his gate, and patrols

continually took their rounds about the palace, to provide for its security and quiet.

His personal appearance.

It may be of some interest to know how such a man looked who had filled the world with so much renown. In person he was a man of large stature; but thin, and of a sallow complexion. He had a high forehead, under which were small sparkling eyes of commanding fulness and respect. He had his hair always cut very short; but some say that it was red, and some that it was black; but he wore a thin moustache, and spare beard and whiskers. The expression of his face was earnest, thoughtful, and noble, but somewhat repulsive, from a gloomy and forbidding seriousness that continually sat upon his brow. His words were few, and he never smiled: his aspect was dark, reserved, and impenetrable. The busy genius that ever burned within required silence; and the little that he spoke was short, harsh, and imperious. He was singularly sensitive of noise, and had some peculiarities that bordered strongly on madness. As he rarely spoke in company, he kept his attention fixed on other men's discourse, so that people said of him he was "at once penetrating and impenetrable." He was in truth more sparing of his words than of his gifts; and it was alone the magnificence of these last that retained the trembling crowd of his dependents around one of so unprepossessing an exterior. Yet he knew how to win men by occasional affability. His manners were the manners of his age—unrefined and rough,—but he had mixed all his life in the society of the great, and was the gentleman and soldier of the period, so that in his *accueil* he never permitted himself to depart from true princely dignity. The coldness of his temperament made him proof against all sensual seductions; so that he was not deemed amorous: but he carried himself in a certain tender way towards his wife, Isabella von Harrach, by whom he had an only daughter, rarely living with, or even writing to her, but always talking affectionately of "My Duchess."

He cared not for the popularity of his adherents and soldiers, looking principally to their fidelity and devotion; but he was attracted by merit in every class, and was always promoting deserving, energetic men. On the other hand, he required implicit obedience from all, and deference from persons of distinction. He was indeed rather disposed to look down upon many of this latter class with contempt, especially those who appeared to him to be mere court fools. In this stately obscurity of three years did Wallenstein silently, but not unobservantly or inactively, await the "inevitable hour" of his revenge. Gustavus Adolphus had in this interval disembarked on the shores of the Baltic, and had overrun the entire north of Germany, and before him, at Leipzig, the flower of the Austrian forces had fallen. The intelligence of this defeat soon reached the ears of Wallenstein, condemned to irksome inaction, while his rivals gathered laurels on the field of glory; yet while all without his castle bespoke calmness and indifference, his mind was brooding over the most illusive projects of ambition. The Emperor's ingratitude had effaced from his mind all record of past favours. The blow which at the Diet of Ratisbon had humbled him, showed him the difference between deputed and acquired power; and from that moment it was the all-engrossing desire of his soul to obtain power for himself. Fortune had denied him nothing that a subject or a citizen could lawfully enjoy; but the difference was yet extreme between a subject and a Sovereign; and he sighed for the opportunity of wielding an independent sword, and of uniting it with an absolute sceptre.

Wallenstein writes to the Emperor.

With some political sagacity, but with a quicker eye to his own aggrandizement, he addressed by letter a suggestion to the Emperor to gain over the King of Denmark to the cause of the League by negotiation, which, as has been above related, he had himself broached in his quality of Duke of Mecklenburg. Fer-

dinand was as much pleased with the suggestion as with the quarter from whence it came, and in the joy of his heart replied in his own hand, "that he was delighted to find that his dear friend did not forsake him in the hour of difficulty." Indeed he carried his condescension so far as to invite "his dear friend" to Vienna, "to consult him on various important points concerning the war;" but this did not at all accord with the views of his astute and ambitious correspondent. He put the Danish treaty in the train that led to the Congress of Lubeck; but, having pointed out what he considered the most judicious mode of arresting the progress of the Swedish King, he appeared to rest in his retirement indifferent to the war, and to despise the combinations of such remote and inconsiderable relations [5].

Offers to side with the King of Sweden.

On the death of Tilly, in 1632, and the advance of Gustavus Adolphus across the Rhine, the meditations of his mind began to bear fruit, although still as yet only in the dark corners of his imagination. The great Hero was not yet reconciled in his heart with the Emperor, who had personally aggrieved and insulted him; and he hated the

"Monks and Priests, and all their trumpery,"

whom he knew to be his enemies, and that they held in their trammels with unyielding grasp the conscience of the superstitious and ultra-Roman Sovereign, who had treated him with such an ungrateful return for his services. Wallenstein therefore did not lose a moment in turning to the rising influence of Gustavus Adolphus. He was perfectly indifferent as to the party he should serve in the struggle, and utterly reckless as to which side he lent his sword to obtain his own ends. He therefore now prepared to throw aside his allegiance to the Emperor and the Catholic League, and to accept

[5] Mitchell.

the cause of the King of Sweden and the Confederacy. With this view he sought out the assistance of the banished Count Thurn, his earliest adversary, to be the bearer of his congratulations to the Swedish King on his late brilliant success; to whom he offered without scruple the assistance of an army, to drive the Emperor altogether out of Germany, and to conquer Bohemia and Moravia; only requiring that 15,000 Swedish troops should be placed under his command, to be combined with such forces as his own influence could assemble. Gustavus was ready enough to receive such an unexpected aid, and did not turn a cold answer to it; nevertheless, he hesitated to commit so much power to the honesty of a man who felt no shame in openly avowing himself a traitor; and, after giving the subject the fullest consideration, the Swedish Monarch excused himself, on the plea that he could not venture to diminish his forces by separating from them so large a detachment. He afterwards endeavoured to renew the negotiation, but the favourable moment was past; and Wallenstein's offended pride was so wounded, that he never forgave this slight put upon his offer[6].

Repelled by the King of Sweden, Wallenstein seeks other alliances.

Wallenstein had shot his bolt; but he had other arrows in his quiver. Occupied with the government of his Duchies, his mind was never withdrawn for an instant from the great schemes he was forming for his personal revenge. He changed his residence backwards and forwards between Prague and Gitschen, or Gitchin, where he had a country house, to give occupation to his restless spirit, and sent out trusty agents

[6] It is right to state, that some historians deny altogether the assertion, that Wallenstein entered at any time into secret correspondence with the enemies of the Emperor, as being neither probable nor proved. Nevertheless, Schiller asserts the fact in his history, as above stated in the text; and Harte records the opinion of Voltaire, "that the conspiracy of Wallenstein is received as an historical fact: and yet the world has been long ignorant of what kind it was."

every where to learn, with something like accuracy, the changing incidents of the war. He had always maintained a good understanding with his old friend, Count Arnheim, who was in command of the Saxon forces, and who had been on his staff, and who was indeed a great admirer of the hero, and devoted to him as a soldier, heart and hand. Through him he sought to bring about a personal alliance with the Elector of Saxony, the rather at this moment, because he knew him to be offended at the lofty pretensions of Gustavus Adolphus, against whom Wallenstein now concentrated a great portion of his bitterness. Moreover, it was now the policy of the Duke of Friedland to raise up a third party in Germany, which might place itself, through the fortune of war, in his own hands, and at once gratify his revenge against the ingratitude of the Emperor, and the neglect of the Swedish Monarch; and in the ruin of both he sought to obtain the kingdom of Bohemia, and his native province Moravia. It really was, indeed, with the same object that he had acted so as to induce the King of Denmark to declare war against Sweden, after the King had overrun and reduced Pomerania. None of these negotiations, however, had any successful result; for Gustavus Adolphus continued, without any serious opposition, his successful inroad into Germany. And when the Imperialist army, under his old associate Tilly, was worsted at Breitenfeld, in September, 1631, the Duke of Friedland's friends and bribed adherents in Vienna uttered loud complaints at this disgraceful negligence; and a thousand voices sounded in the ears of the Emperor, "Had Wallenstein commanded, matters would never have come to this[1]."

The Emperor tries to

The immediate pressure of necessity finally over-

[1] "All eyes were turned on one,
Their helper in distress. The Emperor's pride
Bowed itself down before the man he had injured."
SCHILLER.

came the consideration of mortified pride in Ferdinand; and, deeply sensible of his own personal humiliation in the act, the Emperor empowered the friends of the Duke of Friedland to sound him as to his willingness to return to the command of the Imperial armies. Wallenstein was at this moment suffering from gout, in his palace near Prague, and on this excuse, as well as from necessity or policy, he again declined the invitation to attend the Imperial Court. He had sufficient self-command to conceal his inward exultation at the opening of the negotiation, and in this moment of long-desired vengeance to assume the mask of indifference. The Duke of Eggenburg, Baron de Questenberg, and Werdenberg, were the Imperial deputies, who were authorized by the Emperor to make known his desire to have him back at the head of his armies, and to offer him a salary of 100,000 florins a month, with the supreme command[8]. But he long resisted the urgent entreaties of these mediators. "Too long," he said, "had he tasted the pleasures of ease and independence, to sacrifice to the vain phantom of glory the uncertain favour of princes." But when the Saxon army was already on its march towards Prague, Wallenstein removed from the Bohemian capital with his whole court, and repaired to Znaim, in Moravia, to be altogether out of the way of this invasion. The progress of the enemy, however, increased the pressure of Ferdinand's difficulties, and the terrified Emperor sent the Duke of Eggenburg for the third and last time to persuade his friend the Duke of Friedland to yield to his necessity. But the wily Wallenstein said, "he never could trust to a restoration to command which he owed to the Emperor's necessity, and not to his sense of justice." The Duke of Eggenburg, at length driven to play a last card, assumed a loftier tone, and threatened the Impe-

regain Wallenstein's services: conditions required by the latter.

[8] Such a salary would amount in sterling money to £108,000 per annum, which was an immense pay.

rial resentment if the General longer persisted in his refusal. "Ferdinand required his services as his benefactor; and as Emperor he demanded them."—"Whatever price Wallenstein might demand for his obedience, the Kaiser would readily agree to; but if he demurred any longer, the weight of the Imperial indignation should crush the refractory servant." The Duke of Friedland well knew that the whole of his extensive possessions were open and utterly exposed to the power of the Emperor, and was convinced that he had now sufficiently tested the weakness and despair which dictated the offer, and that as he had held back sufficiently to attain, if indeed it were ever possible, to the summit of his desires, his affected reluctance now appeared to be overcome, and he made a show of yielding to the persuasions of Eggenburg; but he insisted on some conditions for his obedience, that might be written down and settled before he accepted the command. "The Duke of Friedland required the uncontrolled command over all the German armies of Austria and Spain, with unlimited power to reward and punish. Neither the King of Hungary (whom the Emperor had wished to be installed in the highest command), nor even the Emperor himself, was ever to appear in his army, much less to exercise the slightest authority in it. No commission, no pension, nor letter of grace, was to be granted by the Kaiser, without Wallenstein's approval. As an ordinary reward for his allegiance, an Imperial hereditary estate in Austria was to be assigned to him. As the extraordinary reward of success in the field, he required that he should be Lord Paramount over the conquered countries, and that all conquests and confiscations should be placed entirely at his disposal. He insisted that all means and monies for carrying on the war should be solely at his command; and, at the conclusion of peace, he demanded the assurance, that the Duchy of Mecklenburg should be admitted to his capitulation." In vain did Eggenburg

entreat Wallenstein to moderate his demands, which the Emperor could not grant without being deprived of all Imperial authority over his armies. He even condescended to suggest that his son, the King of Hungary, might remain with the army, to learn the art of war under Wallenstein. The Duke of Friedland was not, as has already been clearly manifested, a man of much Christian or loyal sentiment, and, with much profaneness, and greater presumption, he declared, "Never will I submit to any colleague in my office—no, not even if it were God himself with whom I should have to share my command." It would seem that in the depths of his despair the Emperor did not consider the conditions of his subject so arrogant as they probably afterwards appeared to him when he had recovered his position; at all events he did not hesitate to accept them, and a compact in the sense of them was duly signed on the 15th of April, 1632.

Wallenstein's vast military popularity.

Wallenstein did not delay to fulfil the promises which he had made. The fundamentals of the enterprise having, in truth, been long laid, and the machinery having been well prepared for the purpose, both were soon put in motion. As soon as the news transpired that the Duke of Friedland was about to levy troops, crowds of soldiers offered their services to try their fortune under this favourite and experienced General. Many who had served under him formerly, and gone into retirement, came forth again, ready to share with him both booty and glory. The great pay he promised attracted others, and the regular and plentiful supply thus secured to the mercenary, as it was to be paid by the peasant, was an irresistible inducement to all classes to embrace the military life, instead of being the victims of its oppression[9]. All the Imperial provinces were

[9] "———— The drum was beat, and lo!
The plough, the workshop, is forsaken—all
Swarm to the old familiar banner." SCHILLER.

called upon to assist in the equipment. No class in Austria was exempted from this taxation: no dignity or privilege could be claimed from capitation. Wallenstein lavished money out of his own purse to hasten the armament. By his bounty and dexterity he drew to his standard all the disbanded veteran troops that had ever served under the Imperial ensigns; and he took especial care to attract every commander of note, of which sort there were many, whose swords and consciences were always ready for sale. Though he was known to punish with more than Roman rigour, yet it was recognized that he rewarded with more than Roman profusion; for which reason all who were conscious of military merit delighted to serve under him. Nor was the Court of Vienna idle in its co-operation. Orders were given to supply the army with every necessary that could be imagined; and the provinces were all required to make liberal contributions. The Kings of Spain and Hungary yielded considerable sums to the same object. The Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg did not hesitate to treat with several foreign states in his own name, to solicit men and money. The Duke of Lorraine transmitted supplies, and Poland sent Cossacks, while even the Princes of Italy furnished some military necessaries. At the end of three months, 40,000 men, furnished even to superfluity with every thing needful for war, commanded by tried and experienced officers, and inflamed by an enthusiasm for their chief which seemed to assure victory, were assembled under his personal command, and reviewed by him at Pilsen, whence he immediately put them in motion, to drive the Saxons out of Bohemia.

Drives the Saxons out of Bohemia.

It was just at the period when Tilly had succumbed at the battle of the Lech, that the Saxon army, whose laurels acquired at the battle of Leipzig had not been very bright, yet from association with the Swedes were still flushed with the brilliant results, occupied Bohemia under Arnheim. Wallenstein, always an adept

in artifice and dissimulation, knew that he had in the Saxon General a ready agent, and therefore tried first to work upon the indolence and insincerity of his master, the Elector, to whom he made considerable offers; but the relative situation of the Emperor and the King of Sweden gave a preference to the friendship of the latter in John George's mind at this juncture.

Invades and reduces Bohemia.

The reduction of Bohemia was under all the circumstances of such easy operation, that Wallenstein made it his first employment. Fortune still clung to his sword. After a short resistance, the gates of Prague were opened to one of his regiments by the treachery of some Capuchin monks; but the Saxon garrison made good show of resistance at first, and even repulsed the Imperialists after a considerable breach had been opened; but those who retired to the citadel laid down their arms upon disgraceful conditions; and Bohemia was again freed from an enemy. The Emperor rewarded his Generalissimo for this first success with the Duchy of Glogau, in Silesia. Wallenstein, master of the capital, hastened to seize the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna, and now proposed to carry the war into the Electorate of Saxony. But Maximilian of Bavaria, who had been deprived by the death of Tilly of his best support, and was at this moment sorely pressed by the enemy, solicited the Duke of Friedland to hasten to his assistance; and Ferdinand seconded the request with all his influence. But it soon appeared how completely the Imperial authority had been sacrificed, by the concessions it had made to the arrogant General. The Duke of Friedland was alike indifferent both to Maximilian's entreaties and to the Emperor's commands, and remained on the confines of Bohemia intent on his Saxon aspirations, and glad to abandon Maximilian to his fate, in remembrance of the evil turn which he had given the implacable Duke at the Diet of Ratisbon; nor was he less pleased at his power to chafe the curb of the Emperor's impotence.

Joins the forces of

Whether or no, however, this delay in marching

the Elector of Bavaria.

down to the Danube arose from a feeling of personal revenge, or any other bad passion, some good military reasons may be assigned for Wallenstein's proceedings. The Swedes, after their success on the Lech, had sat down before Nuremberg, and the Imperial General might possibly have thought that it was the better strategy for Austria that the Swedes should waste their strength before the Bavarian fortress, while he was preparing against them a stunning blow in another quarter. In the mean while, however, the army of the Duke of Friedland became increased to 60,000 men, who had attained to perfect order and admirable discipline. Yielding to the pressing entreaties of his Sovereign, he did at length march south, and effected the long-expected union with the forces of the Elector of Bavaria at Egra. The petty Sovereign, however, and the Generalissimo hated one another, and came at the very first juncture to an open quarrel, as to the assumption of the chief command of the combined army of Imperialists and Bavarians, which ended, after some altercation, in a kind of half-compromise, to Wallenstein's advantage; after which the two Generals publicly embraced each other in the sight of the troops, and entertained for a time a hollow friendship.

Abstains from disturbing the King of Sweden at Nuremberg.

With such an army as Wallenstein commanded, it has been thought strange that it should have been withdrawn, and that Gustavus Adolphus—whose army did not exceed at this moment 22,000 men—should have been allowed to pursue his operations before Nuremberg undisturbed; but it has been surmised, that the King's immense preponderance of artillery prevented the Imperialists from making any direct advance upon the Swedes, who are said to have had with them 300 guns, provided with excellent *attelage* and ample ammunition. These were now already placed on the ramparts and intrenchments of Nuremberg, where the King formed a strongly intrenched camp; the *fosse* eight feet deep and twelve feet broad, which the good

will of the surrounding peasantry assisting the Swedish soldiery enabled him to form, completely secured the protection of his camp; and the magistrates and authorities of the surrounding district amply filled his magazines with provisions; so that he possessed the means of sustaining any amount of siege.

Declines an encounter with Gustavus Adolphus.

The Imperialist army advanced by slow marches to Neumark, about thirty miles from Ratisbon. Here Wallenstein reviewed this combined army, and at sight of the formidable force he commanded could not resist the childish boast, "In four days it will be shown whether I or the King of Sweden is to be master of the world." Yet, notwithstanding the efficiency of this fine force, he did not attack. "Battles enough have been fought," he said; "it is time now to try another method." His scheme is said to have been to wear out his opponent by a tedious blockade, and to act upon the Fabian principle—to hazard nothing, but to hover about and to deprive his antagonist of the opportunity of availing himself of the impetuous bravery of despair. Accordingly he proceeded to erect on the other side of the Pegnitz an equally strong fortified camp; and by means of this well-chosen position he hoped to cut off Gustavus from all supplies that might be coming up to him out of Franconia, Suabia, or Thuringia. It was a matter of astonishment to lookers-on, that two such armies, led on by two such renowned leaders, on whose conduct the fate of Germany depended, should remain gazing at each other for weeks without striking a blow of any kind, if we except the trivial onsets, ambuscades, and skirmishes, to procure forage, and intercept convoys. The truth is, Wallenstein had all along a certain dread of coming to blows with Gustavus. There was in the King's operations a principle of strategy that perplexed and puzzled the Duke of Friedland, and created serious apprehensions in the mind of that General, causing a visible alteration in his way of proceeding. He even changed the de-

cisive tone of speech, which he was in the habit of using in matters of war. From being confident, he became distrustful; and what was once haughtiness and obstinacy softened into deference and docility[10]. He is thought to have considered that any check which he might receive at this juncture might irretrievably ruin the Imperial cause, and that therefore he would not rush heedlessly to battle, seeing that he might more securely destroy his opponents by famine and pestilence. But he did not adopt sufficient precautions to avert from himself the fate that he was designing for his adversary. The peasantry, fleeing from the whole of the country adjoining his camp, took with them all their property; so that both the Imperialists and the Swedes in their urgency were obliged to send forth their foraging parties into common districts, to obtain supplies; and the Croats and Swedish horse contested its possession so stoutly, that each required numerous escorts to cover them. Bloody conflicts, with doubtful issues, daily occurred to obtain provisions, which could only be secured for either army sword in hand. A convoy that the Imperialists were expecting from a distance, coming up under an escort of 1000 men, was pounced upon on the way by the Swedes, who, under cover of the darkness of night, secured it for themselves; and one fine morning 12,000 cattle were driven into the Nuremberg camp in despite, while 1000 waggons laden with bread were of necessity burned to save them from recapture. A more serious affair of the same kind near Altdorf also terminated to the advantage of the Swedish cavalry, who routed seven Austrian regiments, with the loss of about 400 men. Wallenstein, seeing these many checks and increasing difficulties, repented that he had declined to hazard a battle at the beginning; but the increased strength of the Swedish camp now rendered the thought of making

[10] Harte.

an attack upon it impracticable. The King acted steadily upon his favourite axiom, "that a good general with a small army could hardly ever be obliged to fight, if he acted with due vigilance, forethought, and activity."

The Swedes receive large reinforcements.

After the armies had remained some time opposed to each other behind unassailable intrenchments, extensive reinforcements collected, and even led, by the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstierna, in person, reached the camp of the King. Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Palatine of Birkenfeld, with many German garrisons and Saxon regiments, had united with the Swedish division of General Baner, and, passing the Rednitz at Ellersdorf, also unmolested, effected their junction with the royal army at Windsheim. They amounted together to 50,000 men, with 60 pieces of cannon, and ample supplies; so that Gustavus Adolphus was now at the head of 70,000 men, and might turn the tables upon the Duke of Friedland. The Imperialists, however, had also received some accession of strength out of Bavaria in their camp; although in both armies infectious diseases already prevailed to a very serious extent, and decimated the thus augmented strength of both.

Gustavus resolves to storm the Imperial camp.

To put an end to these distresses, the King of Sweden, relying on his great numerical superiority, was the first to quit his lines; and on the 21st of August formed his army in order of battle, and cannonaded the Duke's camp from batteries erected on the further side of the river. He entrusted the defence of his intrenched camp to the militia of Nuremberg, and, passing the Rednitz at Furth, at its confluence with the Pegnitz, drove the enemy's outposts before him. The Duke of Friedland, however, remained immoveable in his intrenchments, and contented himself with a distant fire of cannon and musketry upon his adversary. His plan was, to wear out Gustavus by his inertness, and by the force of famine; and neither the remonstrances of the

Elector of Bavaria, nor the impatience of his Generals, nor the scornful ridicule of the Swedes, could shake his purpose. He was only so far moved, as to send express upon express to Pappenheim, to implore him to bring or send to him such reinforcements as might render him more a match for the King. But that commander, who loved neither the Generalissimo nor Maximilian, affected independence; and he met the orders with ceremonious excuses and well-devised delays. Gustavus thus deceived in his hope of battle, and compelled to action by his increasing necessities, resolved to cut the knot and storm the Imperial camp, although art and nature combined to render it impregnable.

Desperate struggle between the Swedes and the Imperialists. The King of Sweden falls into a snare.

Wallenstein's camp was posted on the steep heights between the Biber and the Rednitz, on the edge of which the whole of his artillery was dispersed. Thick barricades, with sharp palisades, deep trenches, and inaccessible redoubts, commanded every approach to it. The Imperial officers in command were every where charged, under pain of the Generalissimo's highest displeasure, not to allow themselves to be transported by heat of passion, or any seeming fitness of opportunity, into any further engagement than what was literally defensive. The Swedish army was nevertheless ordered to make an assault on the whole extent of the position, though certain destruction awaited the assailants. The attack was furious, and the defence obstinate: the intrepid band of Germans, to whom the King had confided the task of honour, was driven back by the combined strength of nature and of man. Exasperated at their retreat, the King himself led forward his own Finlanders; but they, after an equally hot reception, yielded to the superiority of the defence. One thousand mangled bodies covered the field; but Gustavus undauntedly persevered, while Wallenstein calmly and securely held his position unshaken. The cavalry were then introduced into the struggle. Duke Bern-

hard as well as the Duke of Friedland contended in person at the head of their respective cavalry, and had each of them a horse killed under him; and the King himself had the sole of his boot carried off by a cannon-ball in one of the charges. The combat, however, continued into the night; but so much rain fell in the course of it, that in the evening of the 21st of August the Swedes found that they could not move their cannon, and did not venture to renew the contest. Gustavus accordingly dismantled his batteries; and, employing the rest of the 22nd and the 23rd in passing his army across the Rednitz, above the town of Furth, determined to attempt to dislodge the Duke of Friedland from that portion of his encampment on which stood the Castle of Altenberg, or "Alte Feste," which, as the name implies, was a very high position. Wallenstein, instantly discerning the King's object, occupied the old castle with augmented forces, and intrenched himself there anew. He immured himself (so to speak) behind a threefold barrier of *abattis*, and ramparts of stout oak-trees, each rising in a semicircle the one above the other, while the forest of Altenberg spread itself around. It was a rash enterprise of Gustavus to hope to make a lodgment in such a citadel; but it has been said that he was persuaded to attempt it by the address and deceit of Aldringer. While the Swedish army was yet at prayer on the morning of the 24th, a *valet de chambre* of that General, one who was an enterprising genius, and who had risen into confidence by his courage and dexterity, was brought prisoner into the King's presence. This adventurer induced Gustavus to believe that some movements of the Imperialists, which were in progress for the occupation of the position, were in truth an actual decamping; for that the troops had remonstrated with the Generalissimo at the unnecessary sacrifice of their lives; who were ready, indeed, to die as soldiers ought, in open fight, but who did not choose to remain

in the camp to perish by famine. The King's judgment, which, on cooler examination, would have led him to decline the rash attempt, was ensnared by this artifice, and he ordered his men to advance. There was an arched projection to the castle on one side of the height, overhung with trees; and here Wallenstein, Gallas, and Aldringer, awaited the Swedish attack of "commanded musketeers," led forward by the brother of Saxe Weimar, under the fire of Torstenson's artillery, consisting of 200 guns. Wallenstein replied to this with unwearied diligence. The whole combined operation was centred in the one object—to get possession of the summit of the mountain. The Swedes advanced with unabated courage; and word was brought Wallenstein "that the King had mounted the hill." With his wonted profaneness, the Generalissimo replied, "that he would not believe in a Supreme Being in heaven if that castle could be taken from him." The thing was impossible. The Swedes were exposed to the fire of the Imperialists from head to foot, while they lay almost buried behind the branches of trees and parapets of felled oaks; so that after ten hours of the bloodiest service the King perceived that all were fruitless attempts, and inevitable slaughter. Night stopped the butchery; and Wallenstein remained thenceforth undisturbed within his lines. For fourteen days each army retained its position, in the hope that the other might be the first to give way. Distress for provisions still prevailed to a fearful extent in each camp, and at length the soldiers in both became mutinous and unmanageable. But here the iron will of Wallenstein was more powerful than the kinder rule of Gustavus. Affected to the heart by the general want, and despairing of wearing out the endurance of his antagonist, Gustavus at length broke up his camp on the 8th of September, and marched away, leaving a sufficient garrison in Nuremberg to defend the ramparts.

Wallenstein en-

The Duke of Friedland evinced on these operations

his highest military qualities. Never lived a commander better calculated to keep down that most dangerous spirit of officers who often do great mischief by an useless display of animal courage, without the corresponding qualities of discretion and conduct. He took a pride in showing that an idle waste of soldiers' blood was no part of his principle; that he had other ways of obtaining an object; and he loved to prove that he possessed the power of curbing his followers equally from mischief without the camp as from mischief within. When the Swedish General, Kniphausen, with a foolish bravado (which there was no reason to suppose that the King approved, and which was especially bad taste after what had happened) marched his division from the royal camp in front of the Imperial intrenchments, with a studied and measured slowness, and with drums beating and colours flying, Wallenstein, indifferent himself to this absurd defiance, but knowing how calculated it was to irritate his soldiers,— deavours to test his soldiers.

> "O'er their wild mood full conquest gained,
> The pride he would not crush, restrained:"

the conqueror ordered his men to stand to their arms, steady and ready for action; but he merely withdrew his outposts within his lines, and allowed the enemy to retreat according to their own whim, without any molestation. Moreover, he remained tranquil in his camp for five days after the King's departure, and afterwards justified the apparent military defect of not having energetically followed up his success against a worsted adversary by pleading his deficiency of cavalry, and adding, "that he expected Pappenheim to arrive, and that then it would 'be all up' with Gustavus."

The Duke of Friedland did not, however, altogether lose his time in this delay. He personally visited all his wounded, administered to their necessities, praised

their gallant deeds individually, and then, as always, profuse in his rewards, he distributed large gifts of money amongst all ranks—1000 crowns to a colonel, 15 to a private, and to all the intermediate ranks in proportion. Discriminating liberality of this kind, justly and speedily dispensed, is a true element of power, and no one understood its effect and influence so well as Wallenstein, for it raised him considerably above the mass of contemporary commanders, who appeared to have regarded their hap-hazard levies as mere creatures of their private ambition, and food for powder. Indeed, it may be laid down as a sound military principle, that every thing that proves to a soldier that he is cared for by his officers elevates his self-esteem, and, while it renders him more docile and obedient, fits him for the most devoted action.

The Generalissimo renders an account of the fight at Altenburg in an efficient report to the Emperor, that is still extant. The victor speaks modestly of himself, and allows that his position was, at one moment, nearly carried by the King; but he is, on the other hand, profuse in praise of both officers and soldiers, and solicits for them marks of Imperial favour and protection. The conclusion of the despatch is characteristic of the man, at once a courtier and a general: "The King has blunted his horns in this *impressa*, and the result has shown that he can no longer claim the title of *invictissimus*, which must hereafter belong to Your Majesty alone. Yet the King made a skilful retreat, and showed clearly that he understood his business." Wallenstein placed his own loss in the engagement at 400, and that of the enemy at 2000, which is about the truth, as admitted by the other side. The old warriors far exceeded in their frank candour modern generals, who evince in this matter the most shameless effrontery and lying in their *bulletins;* and men had not yet learned to practise the ridiculous exaggerations of those who strive by such means to forge a short-lived fame.

Wallenstein now saw the King's departure with high gratification, for he had tried the enduring obstinacy of his troops to the uttermost, so that having accomplished his object he himself raised his camp at Zirndorf, and, marching his army away, set it on fire. Wallenstein appears to have had in view political and personal, as well as military objects in the course he now pursued. He marched down the valley of the Rednitz to Bamberg, where he again mustered his forces. He found the army, which, when he had reviewed it at Neumark, was 60,000 strong, was now diminished by the sword, by desertion, and disease, to no more than 24,000, of whom one-fourth were Bavarians. The Duke of Friedland accordingly resolved to give his opponent the go-by, and to move in the direction of Saxony. This step has been regarded by the admirers of Wallenstein as a masterpiece of policy and skilful generalship. In order to prevent the King from making Bavaria the seat of war, he despatched Maximilian to guard his own Electorate,—glad enough to part with this associate, for he was weary of the restraint which his presence imposed upon him; and, still adhering to his purpose of detaching Saxony from the Swedish alliance, he directed his army through Bayreuth and Coburg, putting the Maine and the mountains of Thuringia between himself and the King, while he resolved to occupy the Saxon Electorate for his winter-quarters. The conjuncture was especially favourable to his views, for his friend Arnheim, with the Saxon army, was gone away, as he probably well knew, to invade Silesia; and this diversion against an adversary, which might rescue one of the hereditary dominions from ravage, was a potent answer to Maximilian for separating from him, and to the Emperor Ferdinand for the course he had adopted. Pappenheim at length had arrived to reinforce his diminished army; when Gallas and Holk were sent away into Voigtland, to lay waste that defenceless province with fire and sword.

He tries to detach Saxony from the Swedish alliance.

Wallenstein fails in his attack upon the Castle of Coburg: but takes Leipzig.

Gustavus Adolphus measured the full extent of the object of the Duke of Friedland, and having many misgivings as to the firmness of the Elector John Frederick, was naturally apprehensive of the defection of Saxony from the Confederacy, which might seriously affect his future prospects for Germany. He had, at his first start from Nuremberg, engaged his army in the siege of Ingoldstadt on the Danube, and was about to make a second attack on that fortress, satisfied that he had nothing to fear from the weakness of the Elector of Bavaria, when he heard of Wallenstein's movement, and listened to the pressing entreaties of John George to go to the relief of Saxony. Accordingly, hastily assembling his troops, he followed the steps of the Duke of Friedland into Thuringia. Wallenstein's first idea seems to have been—the reduction of Franconia; but on the approach of a Swedish army, under Duke Bernhard, he altered his plan, and, for private reasons, determined to discharge his resentment on the families of Bayreuth and Coburg. The former city was laid under a severe contribution, and the Imperialists advanced to the town of Coburg. The Ducal House, which was of the Ernestine family of Saxony, had furnished seven brothers who had borne arms for the Evangelical Union against the House of Austria. The Duke himself was at this moment with Gustavus; but his rich palace and great quantities of merchandise, accumulated for Leipzig fair, lay in the town. Dewbattel defended it; but a breach was made on the 3rd of October, and the walls were stormed in the defenceless part; and not all the gallantry of the defenders, who retired in good order into the castle, could prevent its occupation. Here, however, the gallant Dewbattel set Wallenstein at defiance, who could not make himself master of this castle, although by that he would have secured the roads in one of the most wild and unpassable parts of Germany. This was part of an enterprising and extensive scheme; for, had he gained

the Castle of Coburg, he thought to have encircled Gustavus in a wide-spread net, which would have forced the Swedes either to a speedy retreat back to the Baltic, or to a capitulation of the King with his entire army. Chagrined, therefore, by the disappointment, he turned aside from Coburg towards Cronach, and entered Voigtland, where he completed the work of ravage which had been ruthlessly commenced by Holk and Gallas, and then encamping at Weida, on the bank of the Elster, he, on the 13th and 14th of October, entered with his whole army the circle of Leipzig, and compelled that city to surrender to his summons. There was nothing now, therefore, between him and Dresden, whither he desired to push on. But the Saxon army had been suddenly called back for the defence of the capital, and had advanced as far as Torgau; and the news of the King of Sweden's change of direction, and his arrival at Erfurt, gave an unexpected check to the operations of the Generalissimo.

Takes up his head-quarters at Leipzig.

Both armies were at this time intent upon fighting. And indeed a battle could scarcely now be avoided. Gustavus had marched to Naumburg, which he reached on the 1st of November, before a corps despatched by the Duke of Friedland for the purpose of occupying it could make itself master of the place. Wallenstein was therefore content in the emergency to secure the post of Weissenfels. Between the two there is a range of narrow defiles, formed by a low mountainous ridge, at the foot of which runs the river Saale. The King forthwith prepared to intrench a camp at Naumburg. This step puzzled Wallenstein, who took counsel of the most experienced men about him, as to the reason of this proceeding, and as to the step which it became now most advisable for him to take. They unanimously agreed, that it would not be prudent to attack the King, and that his actually fortifying his camp plainly showed that it was the royal intention not to abandon it during the approaching winter; while it was also thought

advisable for the Imperialists, in the diminished state of discipline of their troops, who needed repose, again to resort to an encampment. Accordingly, with a degree of carelessness scarcely to be expected from the great experience of Wallenstein, he at once ordered his troops to be dispersed into cantonments between Leipzig, Halle, and Weissenfels, with a view of taking up those quarters for the winter, which, it may be remembered, he had previously contemplated. Count Pappenheim, more unaccountably still, was at the same time, and under the same rash resolve, detached to the far-off Rhine to check the Dutch army, that was at this time threatening Cologne, and had received orders to set off forthwith, and get possession, in his march, of the fortress of Moritzburg, in the territory of Halle. To Count Coloredo was given the command of the Castle of Weissenfels; and the Duke of Friedland established the Imperial head-quarters in Leipzig.

Difficulty of accounting for his conduct at this juncture.

We can only draw upon the resources of our own thoughts to explain the conduct of Wallenstein at this very important juncture. We may well believe that the severe privations of the long encampment at Zirndorf had rendered his army impatient of some repose, which might perhaps justify his condescension in inquiring, through Pappenheim, what was the private opinion of all the Generals and Colonels; and they had declared unanimously against any further offensive operations. It has been also very confidently asserted and recorded, that Wallenstein himself had a great indisposition to come to a hand-to-hand engagement with a commander like Gustavus, and that he chose to avoid any decisive affair with him, if that were possible. He had, moreover, established his army in good winter-quarters, exactly in the position he desired, to bear with all his influence upon the Elector of Saxony on one hand, and to leave the way open to the Swedish army to remove the seat of war towards the coasts of the Baltic. To these reasons must be added a belief, that Pappenheim,

whose influence over the Generalissimo was very great, had a private object of his own in getting detached upon the expedition to Cologne, from whence he might carry out his negotiation with the Infanta Governess of the Netherlands. The result of all our reflections on this matter must at last centre in this opinion,—that the detachment of Pappenheim was a false step, and the hasty occupation of winter-quarters a most serious error, in any General, especially when opposed to the military knowledge, ability, and experience of Gustavus Adolphus.

Preparations for battle.

The King of Sweden was well informed of all the enemy's movements; and, as soon as he heard of Pappenheim's departure for Halle, he quickly broke up his camp at Naumburg, and hastened with his whole army to attack the Imperialists before they could be again assembled. The news of this resolve greatly astonished and alarmed Wallenstein; but, speedily acting upon the emergency, he despatched messengers in all haste to recall Pappenheim, who had fortunately not advanced further than Halle, which was not above five miles distant; and the Imperial cantonments had been so judiciously marked out by the Camp Quarter-Master-General, that in twenty-four hours he was able to collect all his army in the wide plain about Lutzen, where, with 12,000 men, he now awaited boldly the attack of the King with his 20,000. Three cannon-shot fired by Coloredo from the castle announced the march of the Swedish army round Weissenfels; and the Duke of Friedland immediately adopted the initiative, by opposing their passage over the Rippach. The high road which goes from Weissenfels to Leipzig is intercepted between Lutzen and Markranstadt by the Flos-Graben, which unites the Elster with the Saale. On this canal rested both the right wing of the Imperialists and the left of the King of Sweden; the cavalry of both armies being in the plain on the opposite bank. Wallenstein's head-quarters rested at Lutzen, face to face with the

King's royal tent. The high road ran between the armies; but the Duke was in possession of this causeway, and he made a deep trench along either side of it, which he filled with musketeers; and on a commanding station he planted seven large guns, to sweep the entire course of the road and canal. The greater part of the plain was commanded by an eminence, from which fourteen pieces of cannon played over its whole extent. Five brigades of Imperial infantry were formed up behind the intrenchments, along the great road; and some expedients of trifling moment were adopted to impede the enemy, and at the same time to conceal the real weakness of the Imperial army.

Battle of Lutzen: fall of Gustavus.

Gustavus, who had made an ill-advised march overnight to surprise his enemy in their quarters, arrived in front of the Imperialist army at evening, and gave orders for the formation of his attack on the ensuing morning. He arranged his army in two lines; the infantry in the centre, commanded by Nicholas Brahé, Count of Weissenburg[1]; the artillery, including Henderson's reserve of Scots, were spread along in front. Bernhard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, at the head of the cavalry, stood on the left wing, on the opposite side of the canal. The morning dawned with a dense impenetrable fog, which delayed the attack till noon; but when it cleared up, the town of Lutzen was observed to be in flames, having been set on fire by order of the Duke, to prevent any operation upon that flank. The attack was therefore limited to one of the cavalry of Saxe Weimar, on the left, and of the infantry upon the centre. Here the intrepid Swedish battalions were received with

[1] This officer comes somewhat suddenly into Swedish story on this occasion. He is, however, mentioned with praise in an affair near Dirschau, in the Polish war of Gustavus in 1626, when he was but twenty-four years of age, and the King took him from that time as a companion, and he accompanied his royal friend in many daring personal adventures, and he also was killed at Lutzen.

a most murderous fire from the cannon on the height above, and from the musketeers in the ditch, which they received with undaunted resolution; and, pressing forward with courage, leaped upon the road and carried the trenches gallantly, as well as the battery of seven guns in rear of it, putting to flight the Imperial brigades who defended it. But, with the rapidity of lightning, Wallenstein rallied his fugitive battalions, and, forming them anew, drove back the enemy beyond the road, and pressed vigorously into the broken ranks of the Swedish main line. The battery that had been captured was also again recovered into his hands. The King, at this moment, was in the midst of his Finland cuirassiers, at the right extremity of his line, spreading terror among the Imperialist cavalry, when the report reached him that his infantry of the centre was driven back. Leaving, therefore, his own cavalry to the care of General Horn, he rode directly to the place where his infantry was most closely pressed; but unfortunately the shortness of his sight led him too near to the enemy's ranks, and the King's left arm was suddenly struck and shattered by a bullet; he was forthwith led by the Duke of Lauenberg to the rear, when he received a second shot, which went through the back, and he fell from his horse, which was also pierced by many wounds. His charger flying across the field without its rider, and covered with blood, proclaimed to the army and also to the Imperialists the fall of the King.

Desperate struggle: the Swedes are in the end victorious.

A mist rose again upon the plain about the time that the King fell, and, under cover of it, the Swedish Generals led on their troops with the view of recovering the royal body. The four central brigades of the Swedes, led forward by Stalhaus, performed wonders; but the two regiments placed to oppose them made such an obstinate and unparalleled resistance, that Wallenstein afterwards adopted the residue of that gallant brigade as his palace-guard at Prague, when he retired into Bohemia. The Imperial artillery on the windmill height was taken;

and the second line of the Swedish infantry, under Kniphausen, advanced across the trenches, and retook, for the second time, the seven-gun battery. General Horn, at the head of the cavalry, here rushed upon the Austrian dragoons, who made but a feeble resistance, and fled. The Imperial powder-waggons took fire with a tremendous explosion, and the Imperialists every where in confusion appeared driven from the field, when Pappenheim appeared marching up in compact form, and the victory had all to be struggled for again. This unexpected appearance revived the courage of the Imperialists, and the Duke of Friedland quickly re-formed his lines. Again he drove the Swedes back across the trench, and retook the seven-gun battery. The entire yellow regiment, which had most distinguished itself on the side of the Swedish infantry, lay dead on the ground, in the order in which they had fought. The blue regiment had also succumbed, after a desperate contest, from the charge of the Austrian horse, under Count Piccolomini,—who had on this occasion seven horses shot under him, and was hit in six different places. Wallenstein himself was seen riding amidst death and destruction with cool intrepidity, but remained unscathed, though men were falling thick around him, and his mantle was filled with bullets. While Pappenheim was making his dispositions at the head of his line, he received a stroke from a falcon-shot that wounded him in the thigh, and almost at the same instant a musket-ball pierced his breast. He well knew that it was the stroke of death; though retaining his consciousness he spoke cheerfully to his men, who nevertheless forcibly carried him from the field. On this Holk assumed the command of the left wing, opposing Stalhaus, who had replaced the King. A third battle of two hours' duration now ensued, with various fortune, but without any decisive result in that quarter. Meanwhile Piccolomini, Tertzky, and others, led forward the Imperial centre of four great squares of in-

fantry, flanked by two regiments of cuirassiers. Here Piccolomini was shot in more than one place, but refused to quit the field. The Uplanders, Ostrogoths, Strulanders, and other Swedish brigades confronted them; while on the opposite flank of the field Duke Bernhard was opposed to Coloredo; and both armies remained engaged till the evening with a fury and obstinacy that can hardly be described. The Flos-Graben was actually filled with the heaps of the slain. Ten of the leaders on either side had fallen.

Wallenstein is beaten, and quits the field.

The death of these Generals was, however, fatal to the Imperial cause; for, missing their accustomed leaders, the soldiers gave up the battle for lost, and abandoned the field. The Swedes formed all their broken lines into one solid mass, and, profiting by the confusion, made a final movement across the trench, and for the third time got possession of it and the battery, and turned its guns upon the enemy. It has been said that the fortune of the day mainly inclined to the Swedish side from the tactics of Gustavus in first intermingling musketeers with the pikemen in their formations; but Wallenstein had already adopted this tactic. The sun was setting while the strife continued, though skill and courage did their utmost to repair disaster; but increasing darkness at length put an end to the conflict, when both armies separated, as if by mutual agreement, and each party claiming the victory quitted the field. The artillery of both armies rested on the ground. Pappenheim's army, which was last in possession of the field, might have saved the Imperial guns; but being without a General, and having no orders how to act, they retired hastily from the field to Leipzig; where they joined the main army. More than 9000 corpses were left unburied on the field, and the entire plain was covered with the wounded and dying. Wallenstein repaired from the field, to receive the parting breath of Pappenheim, who was brought to Leipzig, and who died there the next

day, a faithful servant of the Emperor and of the Church, and much in favour with the troops, whom he had often led to victory. The Duke of Friedland was not quite his equal in physical courage, and is thought to have abandoned the field of Lutzen earlier than was needful; although Piccolomini made amends for his Generalissimo's shyness, by remaining firm under ten wounds, and having had three horses killed under him; indeed, he remained the last man on the field. Wallenstein is recorded to have made his appearance in the battle in a sedan chair, rarely at the beginning of it exposing his person in the fight; and so much was his conduct reflected on in his army, that when he afterwards brought one of his colonels to the scaffold for some shortcomings at Lutzen, the latter alleged for his excuse, that he was about to be punished "for running away like his Generalissimo." The Duke of Friedland was confessedly defeated, though the Te Deum was sung in honour of a victory in all Austrian and Spanish churches. He was, as may well be believed, sadly out of temper the whole time he rested at Leipzig. He charged his officers, right and left, with cowardice, and brought them to a court-martial on the spot, when several of the most respectable officers were disgraced, or shot. He would allow of no appeal to the Emperor; and by this merciless severity he brought upon himself a host of implacable enemies, who from this time forth silently worked out his ruin.

Wallenstein relieves Ratisbon.

Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar having collected together eighteen regiments of infantry, and 140 squadrons of horse, hastened from the field to advance across the Danube against the Bavarians, and with the rapidity of lightning appeared before Ratisbon. In this perplexity Maximilian again appealed to the Emperor and to the Duke of Friedland, to send him if only some 5000 men, to afford him the aid of their countenance. Seven messengers were sent in succession by the Emperor to Wallenstein, who at last condescended to direct

his march on Ratisbon. Bernhard hastily withdrew before the confederated forces, and the Generalissimo, in no mood to gratify the Bavarians further, quitted them again and withdrew into Bohemia. The fall of his great rival in glory had left the game open to Wallenstein, while it had shaken to its centre the Swedish-Germanic Confederacy. The Duke, who understood human nature as well as most people, knew how much the spirit of discord would arise in an army after such a loss; and satisfied himself that the cancerous affections of a coalition would eat deep when there is no acknowledged head to keep the body politic in health: he again adopted the Fabian principle of remaining inactive, apparently to lull his opponent to repose, while he set himself seriously to the task of increasing his active forces; in which task he spared nobody, so that the hereditary provinces groaned during the winter of 1632 under enormous contributions, which greatly increased the bitter cry against himself.

Dissension between the Saxons and Swedes.

Silesia was at this period one of the hereditary dominions most exposed to danger. Three different armies occupied it, Swedes, Saxons, and Prussians, but this crowd of armies saved the province to the Emperor; for, as Wallenstein had foreseen, the mutual hatred of the Saxons and Swedes now prevented them from acting together, and the jealousy of the Generals was opposed to all unanimity. Count Thurn and Arnheim contended for the chief command, and the Prussians and Saxons looked upon the Swedes as troublesome strangers to Germany, who ought to be got rid of as speedily as possible.

Surrender of the Swedish army at Steinau. Capture of Frankfort on the Oder.

At length, in October, 1633, Wallenstein, at the head of 40,000 men, selected Silesia as the seat of war, and marched to oppose these disconcerted confederates, who all together could only combine a force of 24,000 men. They, nevertheless, resolved to give him battle, and marched to Munsterberg, where they now intrenched their camp. The ambition of the Duke of

Friedland was as strong as ever; but it appears to have been of rather a dreaming and scheming character than one of action. He was always apparently glad of an excuse for remaining inactive; so that now, in the intricate and very irreconcilable design of ruining at once the Emperor and the Swedes, while he set himself to conclude a separate peace with the Saxons, he commenced a series of negotiations with all the Confederate Generals separately, under the cloak of an armistice; and the two opposing armies were inexplicably left for nine days within pistol-shot of each other under a suspension of arms. Impatient at length at the ill success of his diplomacy, he suddenly determined to display his strength, and made a movement as if he designed to penetrate through Silesia into Saxony, while he circulated the report that Piccolomini had already invaded that Electorate. Arnheim accordingly took the alarm, and hastened away to the assistance of his master, John George, by which means the Swedes were left isolated and exposed. They were encamped under Count Thurn at Steinau, on the Oder. As soon, therefore, as Arnheim had marched some miles on the road to Meissen, Wallenstein, who was always thought to have clandestine relations with the Saxon Field-Marshal, marched and surprised the Swedes, who lay in the most complete security; and the whole army surrendered to him without a drop of blood shed, with all their columns, baggage, and artillery. The victory of Steinau was followed by the capture of Frankfort on the Oder. Colonels Illo and Goetz were then ordered by Wallenstein to cross the Warta, and push forward into Pomerania, where they speedily obtained possession of Landsberg, in the Neumark. The Duke of Friedland having thus made the Elector of Brandenburg to tremble, the latter agreed to a truce; and then Wallenstein burst suddenly into Lusatia, and took Goerlitz and Bautzen, as though he intended to follow up his advantages against the

Elector of Saxony; but the continued successes of Duke Bernhard in Bavaria had become so threatening to the Emperor and Maximilian, that all pretext in Wallenstein for a continuance in the remote north, and of any longer resisting the Imperial orders, was overcome, and he was accordingly obliged to set out for the Upper Palatinate, and to leave all his Saxon intrigues for the present to their fate.

Wallenstein returns to Bohemia, against the wishes of the Emperor.

Ferdinand had chafed with continued uneasiness at Wallenstein's proceedings. He had indeed given the supreme command in Germany to his Generalissimo; but he was not disposed that he should presume to exercise the authority which had never been delegated to him over foreign troops; therefore the Emperor, to evade his own concessions, had in consequence requested the King of Spain to send to his aid an army, which had been raised for the purpose at Milan, and which was now coming up to the Danube under the command of the Cardinal Infanta. Wallenstein had indeed become no longer indispensable to the Emperor, for the Imperial fortunes had brightened ever since the death of Gustavus, and "the ball was again at his feet." The Duke of Friedland obeyed his summons, but marched slowly towards the Bavarian frontier; and on his march he stopped to recover the town of Cham, which, as well as Ratisbon and Straubing, had been taken by the Swedes. But no sooner did he learn that the Saxons had taken advantage of his absence to re-enter Bohemia, than he availed himself of some pretext to return thither, without asking the Emperor's permission or consulting him, professing that every consideration must be postponed to the defence and preservation of the kingdom of Bohemia, which he indeed already considered and guarded as though it were his own property.

The Emperor again deprives Wallen-

Such continued indifference and unexampled contempt of the Imperial wishes, involving an obvious injury to the common cause, at length satisfied Fer-

stein of his command.

dinand that there must be an end to his contract; and he became the more induced to believe the unfavourable reports with regard to the Duke that were continually coming to his ears, for they had become current through Germany. Wallenstein succeeded indeed in explaining away the suspicious negotiations he had held with the enemies' generals, instead of fighting them; and, having had the prudence to commit nothing of them to writing, the spies who had been sent, at the instigation of his enemies, to search out the truth of these rumours for the Emperor, had returned with nothing against the General that could convict him. At length, however, the Elector of Bavaria, impatient at being ever sacrificed to Wallenstein's impracticability, threatened that if he should be retained in the chief command, he would unite his forces against the Papal League, and join the Swedes. The Spanish Ambassador Richel also insisted on the Duke's dismissal; and many officers about the Court, whose estates had not been exempted from Wallenstein's exactions, clamoured loudly against the Generalissimo. This combination now compelled the Emperor to consent to deprive him once more of his command. The Duke of Friedland soon saw, by the cessation of intercourse with Vienna, that his compact was considered at an end, and rightly conjectured that another dismissal was resolved upon. Aldringer, one of the Generals most in his obedience, and now under his command, received the direct injunctions of the Emperor to march down and join the Elector of Bavaria on the Danube, with or without the consent of the Generalissimo; and positive orders were also given that some regiments should be sent down to reinforce the army of the Cardinal Infanta. The pressure of circumstances, therefore, no longer permitted of any delay in the execution of the ambitious plans that Wallenstein had formed for his aggrandizement. He had, in fact, already delayed too long, awaiting the favourable configuration of his horo-

scope, to which he had constantly attended. But he could now no longer afford to await the tedious co-operation of the stars: in self-defence he must act, or he would be disarmed, for he foresaw that when he was weak and defenceless his ruin would be consummated.

Wallenstein's meditated defection from the Imperialists.

His first step was, to assure himself of the sentiments of his principal officers, and then to put to the proof the attachment of the army to his person. The three generals most admitted to his confidence, and to a greater degree than the rest, were Kinsky, Tertzky, and Illo; and the two first were bound to him by the terms of relationship. Piccolomini, an adventurer, who was a student of his own in the stars, and who had pretended to be an astrologer like himself—one also who had, it is true, evidenced much bravery, and obtained his protection for his eminent military qualities, was the first of name and mark whose fidelity he sought to test. Wallenstein disclosed to him his conviction of the Emperor's ingratitude, and his knowledge that Ferdinand had again resolved on his removal from the command of the army, and accordingly that he had in consequence irrevocably determined to abandon entirely the party of Austria, and carry his force, his name, and his influence, to the side of the enemy. He declared to his astrological friend, that the stars were propitious, and that he reckoned principally on Piccolomini's services, to whom he promised the greatest rewards. In a friendly spirit, his subordinate spoke of the dangers and obstacles that must stand in the way of so hazardous an enterprise; but Wallenstein ridiculed such fears. "In such enterprises," he said, "nothing was difficult but the commencement. Something must always be trusted to fortune." His resolution was taken, and he would encounter the hazard at the head of a thousand horse. "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementit;*" for Piccolomini read the stars quite differently from his great master in the art of war and astrology; and, now apprised of this dangerous secret,

he with native astuteness saw a way to his interest marked more clearly upon the earth than in the heavens, and accordingly did not lose a moment in apprising the Court of Vienna of this most important communication.

Wallenstein sounds his Generals.

The Duke of Friedland began now to alter his habitual character; instead of a close reserve, he mixed more openly with his generals, occasionally breaking out to them in bitter complaints against the Court. "Your merits are denied their reward," he told them; "and my recommendations of you are disregarded. Thus are all our faithful services recompensed! Who will any longer devote his services to so ungrateful a master? For my part, I am henceforth determined to separate myself from the House of Austria." In January, 1634, he held a meeting of his generals at the Castle of Pilsen. Of those who held command in his army about twenty appeared; but three of the most influential, namely, Gallas, Coloredo, and Aldringer, designedly absented themselves; and Wallenstein observing this, but suspecting nothing, sent to press their attendance. Illo undertook to learn the sentiments of the officers present, and at the same time to prepare them for the particular part which he expected each of them to perform. He began by laying before them the last orders that the General had received from the Imperial Court for the direction of the army. The Emperor had desired that his hereditary dominions might in future be spared from winter-quarterings; that a considerable detachment of horse should be made from the army of the Duke of Friedland for the aggrandizement of that of the Cardinal Infanta, and that, notwithstanding the season, the Generalissimo should immediately march to recover the fortress of Ratisbon to the Imperial arms. By the obnoxious turn which he skilfully gave to these new orders, he found it easy to excite the indignation of the assembly. After this well-chosen exordium, he expatiated with

considerable eloquence upon the merits of the army and the General; and upon the ingratitude with which they were requited by the Emperor. "The Duke of Friedland had," he said, "contested this injustice, and accordingly it was resolved by the venal Court again to remove him from the command, and probably to make away with him entirely. The Generalissimo had received reliable information that the King of Hungary, a Prince devoted to Spanish and foreign counsels, was to be nominated to his command; that they were to be called upon to undertake a winter campaign for the recovery of Ratisbon, solely for the purpose of harassing and vexing them; that Wallenstein, thus abandoned by the Court, was under a perfect inability to keep his engagements with the army. The very means of its subsistence were to be taken from him, while the Jesuit party in the Ministry enriched themselves with the produce of the provinces that their arms had captured, and squandered the money intended for the pay of the troops upon purposes quite foreign to its object. For this the General was to receive a disgraceful dismissal; but he was resolved that the matter should not come to this:—he would resign his command before it should be wrested from his hands; and this," continued Illo, "is what I am instructed to communicate to you; and I now ask you whether it would be advisable for us to lose our illustrious Commander." An universal cry that "they would not allow him to be taken from them" here interrupted the speaker. This enthusiasm was excited to the utmost, and four of the officers present were deputed to wait upon the Duke of Friedland upon the spot, and to request that he would not quit the command. Wallenstein received them with favour, and made a show of acquiescence to their wishes, but professed not to yield to their desire until a second deputation confirmed the request of the first. He then engaged not to quit the service without the knowledge and consent of his army. And, as this concession

on his part seemed to require a corresponding return on theirs, he required of them to sign a written promise truly and firmly to adhere to him, and neither to separate themselves, nor allow themselves to be separated, from his command. An express condition was inserted in this paper:—"As long as Wallenstein shall employ the army in the Emperor's service;" and, of course, none of the assembled officers hesitated to sign what was apparently an innocent and reasonable engagement. These men had, in truth, been called to the command of their regiments under certain promises from the Duke of Friedland, and were of course fearful lest their important claims for remuneration would not be satisfied if Wallenstein were to lay down the chief command. It has been avowed, that, at a dinner which followed this meeting, Illo took the resolution, after the glass had freely circulated, to renew from these officers the promise that they would faithfully hold out with the Duke, if he should choose to retain the office of General, and that this written engagement was signed over again; but that Piccolomini and others who were present at the entertainment discovered with astonishment that the saving clause of the Emperor's service was omitted from this second document. There are some biographers (especially Forster, the most recent of them) who deny this charge of duplicity in Wallenstein, asserting that if any double dealing had been practised by him upon them, they would have appealed to it for their own justification. "*Litera scripta manet.*" From neither copy could the Duke of Friedland have been acquitted from the charge of conspiracy against lawful authority. The next day he himself assembled the officers, and they had expressed their allegiance to him by this document, when none dissented from their engagement; and on his individual part he undertook to confirm the whole tenor of the agreement entered into between Illo and them.

The Emperor coun-

Nothing now remained but to obtain a similar assur-

ance from the absent Generals; and renewed invitations were sent to Gallas, Coloredo, and Aldringer, to hasten their return. A rumour of the proceedings that had occurred at Pilsen met them on their way. Aldringer accordingly at once returned to the strong fortress of Frauenberg, of which he was governor, and, feigning illness, resolved to be on his guard. Gallas alone made his appearance, but he was already in concert with Piccolomini and in free communication with the Court of Vienna as to all Wallenstein's proceedings. These two men were empowered by secret instructions from the Emperor's own hand to secure the persons of the Duke of Friedland and his two associates, Illo and Tertzky, and to place them in secure and close confinement, until they should have an opportunity granted to them by the Emperor of answering for their conduct. But the honour of bearding the lion in his den was too much for these sycophants. It was dangerous enough to be the depository of such a commission, much more so to be called upon to execute it. If Wallenstein should discover the secret, they knew that nothing could save them from the effects of his vengeance and despair. It was in the terms of the patent that the persons of Wallenstein and his friends should be at once secured *dead or alive;* but it was as hazardous to destroy, as to make an attempt to lay hands upon a man whose person was deemed almost inviolable by the entire army who surrounded him. It was doubtful, after what had so recently transpired, whether the soldiers would be ready to coalesce with his murderers, and abandon Wallenstein's brilliant service in order to trust to the Emperor's promises. So deeply were fear and veneration of their General engraven in the breasts of the soldiers, that the attempt to seize him in the midst of a guard devoted to him would have been sufficient to make the boldest hesitate.

terworks Wallenstein's disloyal proceedings.

The continued absence of Aldringer began to excite the Duke's suspicions; and Gallas, in the difficulty in

Wallenstein is deserted by

Gallas and Aldringer.

which he was placed by the Emperor's commission, desired to have an interview with him, and to consult him as to how best to obey his instructions in this emergency. Accordingly, he offered to Wallenstein to repair in person to Frauenberg, in order to prevail on Aldringer, who was his relation, to return with him. Pleased with this evidence of zeal, the Duke not only yielded the required permission, but lent his own equipage for the journey. Rejoicing at the success of his stratagem, the chief conspirator quitted Pilsen without delay, leaving to Piccolomini the task of keeping his eye upon Wallenstein. Gallas, however, did not bring back Aldringer, but sent him forward in all haste to Vienna, to represent the difficulties of the task imposed upon them, while he betook himself, under some excuse, to Upper Austria, having now resolved to abandon his friend.

Wallenstein detects Piccolomini's treachery, and resolves to quit the Emperor's service.

In the mean while symptoms of desertion of humbler adherents became suspicious, yet the attachment to their cloth, which always makes soldiers brethren, prevented Wallenstein from entertaining any suspicion of Piccolomini; and so blind was he in this attachment, or so inordinately confident in his star, and in the impossibility of any one having the power to deceive him (which is said to have been one of the remarkable features of his character), that he actually suffered himself to be again so overreached by the supposed fidelity of this brother astrologist, who now offered to go after Gallas, that he was also conveyed on his mission in the General's own carriage as far as Lintz. At this place Piccolomini knew that the troops assembled there were for the express purpose of securing the Duke's person, and that he was expected to place himself at the head of them. Another army under General Siegs was also collecting at Prague, where Gallas had now already announced himself publicly as the Commander-in-Chief, named by the Emperor's commission, in succession to the Duke of Friedland, and from whom all

were henceforth to receive their orders. The mist then at length dropped from the eyes of Wallenstein, and he awoke in considerable consternation from his dream of security. Suddenly and fearfully he beheld all his projects ruined and all his hopes annihilated; but it is under such circumstances that great minds reveal themselves. Though deceived, he refused to abandon his designs, and would despair of nothing while he held life and power. His first act was to issue orders that no commands were to be obeyed as coming from him, unless they proceeded directly from himself, or from Tertzky, or Illo; and he prepared with his accustomed resolution to march his army in haste upon Prague, where he intended to throw off the mask and to declare openly against the Emperor. He saw, however, that the time had arrived when he absolutely required more extensive support and assistance; and he looked again to Sweden and Saxony, whose aid he could now implore with real sincerity of purpose. Tertzky was in motion with this object, to place himself in communication with Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, who had promised to lend Wallenstein the countenance of some Swedish soldiers to aid him in his conspiracy; but while the Generalissimo was himself preparing to follow the troops, he learned that Prague had been already secured by Gallas, and that Piccolomini was advancing in force against him. He now saw clearly that he had no friends about him on whom to rely. He applied himself without loss of a moment to Oxenstierna and Arnheim direct, requesting them to send down Swedes and Saxons to his assistance; and in consequence the Duke Francis of Saxe Lauenberg was despatched with 4000 of the latter, and Duke Bernhard with 6000 of the former, prepared to join Tertzky and the few officers and soldiers who were, or pretended to be, faithful to Wallenstein, who himself repaired to Egra, on the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to facilitate his junction with the enemies of his Sovereign.

Rejects the advice of one of his followers.

It was under these circumstances that one of his suite asked leave to offer him his advice:—"Under the Emperor," said he, "your Highness is certain of being a great and respected noble; with the enemy you are at best but a precarious king. It is unwise to risk certainty for an uncertainty. The enemy will avail themselves of your personal influence only while the opportunity lasts, but will ever regard you with suspicion, and will always be apprehensive that you will treat them as you will have treated the Emperor. Return, then, to your allegiance while there is yet time." "But how is that to be done now?" interrupted Wallenstein. "You have 40,000 men at arms," was the reply (meaning gold ducats, or money stamped with the figure of an armed man); "take them with you, and go straight to the Imperial Court: declare that the steps you have taken hitherto were merely designed to test the fidelity of your adherents, and of distinguishing the loyal from the doubtful; and say you come to warn His Imperial Majesty against these dangerous men. Thus you will make them appear as traitors who are labouring to destroy you. And at the Imperial Court 40,000 ducats will be sure to be welcome, while Friedland will be again the man that he was at the first." "The advice is good," said Wallenstein, after a pause; "but let the devil trust to it." Nevertheless, he so far acted upon it, that he sent the Colonels Brenner and Mohswald to Vienna, with a letter to the Emperor in explanation of his conduct, and to assure him that he was willing quietly to give up the chief command of the army, and to justify himself; but his enemies prevented this message (if it was in truth ever sent, for it is only a suggestion of one historian) from ever reaching the Emperor Ferdinand. John Gordon at this time commanded the garrison at Egra, an officer in whom Wallenstein placed no small confidence, as he had raised him from the ranks, and made him Lieutenant-Colonel of Tertzky's regiment.

He was a Scotch Protestant, as was also Leslie, who had been especially distinguished and benefited by the Duke of Friedland, and now held the post of Watch-Master-General. Before he quitted Pilsen he sent to desire speech with these two men, who met him on his march, escorted by Colonel James Butler, an Irish Papist, who commanded 50 horsemen, and 200 infantry of his countrymen. The conversation that was held in the General's lodgings between these men induced them subsequently to reveal to one another, that an Imperial decree, proclaiming the Duke of Friedland a traitor, had been openly promulgated, and that he was a lost man.

Treacherous conduct of Leslie and his associates.

These people were, as has been noted, deeply indebted to Wallenstein's favour, and they had so completely earned his implicit confidence, that he now placed his person under their protection as his surest and most faithful champions. Leslie, won over by Piccolomini, appears to have been the first to turn and tempt the rest against the Generalissimo, their common benefactor. The canny Scot showed them that they were now called to choose between treason and duty, between their Sovereign and a denounced rebel, and convinced them of its being their interest to turn against him. The three friends agreed at their first meeting in the bold resolve, that they would take their victim alive by securing him and delivering him up a prisoner. To Leslie, however, Wallenstein had unbosomed himself subsequently to such an extent, that they saw that the expected arrival of Duke Bernhard, and others, who might appear at the earliest opportunity, admitted of no half-measures, for that Egra might be at any moment in the enemy's hands; and in the revolution their renowned prisoner might be taken out of their custody, and their hope and expectation of reward would be altogether annihilated. To anticipate this mischance, they determined together that the Duke must be assassinated on the following night without further scruple. It was arranged that Colonel Butler should give a supper in

his apartments in the Castle of Egra on the 25th of February to the chief officers, and that the fearful deed should be perpetrated at this entertainment. Illo, Tertzky, and Kinsky attended the invitation when given to them without the slightest mistrust; but Wallenstein, although he suspected nothing, excused himself.

Plot for the assassination of Wallenstein.

As the castle was a fortification within a fortification, no place could be more commodious for the perpetration of a wholesale massacre. Previous to the arrival of the guests, trusty soldiers, who were privy to the plot, were admitted into the castle. But, later in the evening, Captain Walter Devereux, an Irishman, with fifteen men, was specially selected for the execution of the dangerous enterprise of giving the blow, and admitted by a postern gate. Wallenstein was closeted with Battista Seni, his astrologer extraordinary, and they were occupied in reading the stars while the supper was taking place in the Castle of Egra. "The danger is not yet past," said Seni, with prophetic spirit. "It is," exclaimed the Duke, who would give the law even to heaven itself; and he added with irony, or with his habitual tone of humour, "it is written that thou, friend Seni, shalt also be thrown into prison." His wonted generosity and kindness to his astrologer prevented the latter from taking this amiss; but, nevertheless, he shortly took his leave, and Wallenstein retired to bed.

His death.

When the repast was nearly finished, Gordon, or Leslie, proposed the health of the Elector of Saxony; on which Butler professed surprise, and declared "he would drink to no man's prosperity who was an enemy of the Cæsar." The wine let loose the tongues, and the guests freely abandoned themselves to loud and vehement conversation. Wallenstein's health was drunk in full bumpers, not as a servant of the Emperor, but as an independent Sovereign Prince; and Illo boasted "that in three days their master would be at the head of such an army as he had never before commanded." About ten in the evening Devereux entered

the hall with a drawn sword in his hand, attended by seven or eight soldiers armed in the same manner. "Long live Ferdinand the Second," he cried; "and long prosper the House of Austria!" The tables were overturned in a moment. Illo and Tertzky, suspecting mischief, laid their hands upon their swords. Leslie gave orders to raise the drawbridges; and the hall was suddenly filled with armed men, who placed themselves behind the chairs of these doomed guests. Surprised, and with a presentiment of their intended fate, they sprang from the table, but before they could defend themselves both were killed on the spot. Wallenstein, as has been stated, had gone to bed, but he was roused from his first sleep by the report of a musket, and sprang to the window to learn the occasion of it, when he heard the screams of Tertzky's and Illo's wives, who had just learned the fate of their husbands; but before he had time to reflect on the occasion of the uproar, a heavy weight fell against his bolted door, and burst it open. It was Captain Devereux, with six halberdiers at his back, who now presented themselves before the General. The Duke was in his shirt and night-gown, and had neither sword nor pistols with him, proving how utterly unconscious he was of any design against his life. "Art thou the villain," said Devereux, "who intends to deliver up the Emperor's troops to the enemy, and to tear the crown from the head of His Majesty? Now thou must die." Astonishment appears to have seized Wallenstein to such a degree that he remained unmoved, and returned no answer, but threw his arms wide open, and even bared his breast, to receive the blow. He was offered a few moments to say his prayers, but did not utter a single word from first to last. The deadly thrust of their weapons did the work of death in an instant, and the illustrious Duke of Friedland fell weltering in his blood without uttering a groan, and closed his active and extraordinary life in an instant, under the vigour of only fifty

years. The naked body of Wallenstein, with those of his fellow-victims, was carried in a dung-cart through the principal streets of Egra with ignominy and insult, and thrown into a ditch; but the Emperor conceded to his widow subsequently that it should be interred under the chapel of his palace at Gitschin in Moravia, which he had there caused to be erected.

The assassins are rewarded.

It is related that Ferdinand, when he heard of his death, shed one tear over the fate of his General, and ordered 3000 masses to be sung for his soul at Vienna. Devereux and Butler, with the illustrious blood of Wallenstein on their consciences, hastened to the Court, and were the first to meet the Emperor as he quitted church. Upon seeing the latter, the Cæsar exclaimed, "Deus conservet et benedicat dilectum nobis caput Butlerum nostrum." He then carried the two officers to the Archbishop who had just performed mass before him, and ordered him to place gold chains on their necks with the benediction of the Church. Gold purses, gold chains, chamberlains' keys, and dignities, rewarded the other assassins, and the conspirators against Wallenstein shared his estates amongst them. Gallas received Friedland; Piccolomini, Rachod; Coloredo, Opotschno; Aldringer, Toplitz; and the Emperor, as head conspirator, appropriated Sagan and Glogau to himself. The money found in Wallenstein's treasury was scattered as largess among the soldiery; and £2000 were paid down *en argent comptant* to each captain. His very house perished, and all his mighty power and possessions were scattered to the four winds of heaven. The estate of Gitschin, in which it is believed the sepulchral chamber of the Duke of Friedland is situated, or as some call it the Neuschloss, was assigned as the widow's portion; and it descended to their only child, called Maria Elizabeth, afterwards married to a Count Kaunitz.

Wallenstein's epitaph:

It is not necessary at this time of day to pronounce any sentence upon this grievous termination of

a gorgeous military career. It has been written of him in a Latin epitaph, by Father Joseph,— reflections on his conduct and character.

"Gloriam dedit imperio, Imperium sibi ruinam:
Vitam, opes, amicos pro Cæsare toties exposuit,
Vitam opes amicos Cæsar semel abstulit:
Vita cessat—Fama durat."

The room in the burgomaster's house at Egra, where this base murder was committed, may still be seen by the inquisitive traveller, and the blood-spots on the wall speak still to the compassion of men, and to their denouncement of Imperial bloody-mindedness. The mighty renown of Wallenstein is not recorded, it is believed, in brass or marble any where, but it will for ever live in the mind of posterity, and in the song of the most illustrious poet of Germany. An historian, Friedrich Forster of Potsdam, has recently given to the world some documents recovered out of family archives, to attest his innocence of treason; but the whole chain of history must be broken into fragments before the sad truth of his criminality can be denied, or his innocence be admitted by posterity.

Wallenstein is said to have been in figure tall, with a martial and rather severe air, remarkably high forehead, and hair dark and reddish in his manhood, but which had already become grey before his death. He was a man of unfathomable silence and profound dissimulation. His extreme desire that a Generalissimo should never familiarize himself with the generals and officers below him induced him to affect to eat alone. He professed a sort of natural antipathy to noise, so that his officers were even careful that the rowels of their spurs should be bound with a little silk to pay court to the commander's singularity. When any one made a noise, in his extreme rage he would cry out, "Hang that brute."

He was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest generals of his time, and this in a sense superior to all others; for he knew how to collect armies, how to discipline them in the shortest time, how to organize them, how

to direct them best into combat, and how most certainly to lead them to victory. He had the highest qualities for both a hero and a ruler—prudence, justice, and courage; and no one ever surpassed him in the qualities of firmness and perseverance. Terror was the talisman by which he worked on the minds of men. Stern he was in countenance, silent as fate, inexorable as destiny. Before he uttered he knew and had weighed in his mind all that he wished to execute; and when he spoke, he only communicated to his instruments what was necessary for each subordinate to know for the attainment of his settled, predetermined purpose. No one dared to question him. Extreme in the severity of his punishments as bounteous in his rewards, he knew precisely how to excite the zeal of his followers, and how to sustain it to its required extent; for no general of ancient or modern times could boast of being obeyed with equal alacrity. Absolute submission to his command was more highly appreciated by him than bravery. He was always grasping after wealth and power; but when he obtained the former, it was to dispense it with lavish prodigality; so that it may be said of him, as was said of Wolsey,—

> "Though he were unsatisfied in getting,
> Which were a sin; yet in bestowing
> He was most bounteous."

He deemed submission to a General's will to be so pre-eminently the one great quality of a soldier, that he would maintain it by capricious orders, and lavish a reward where he found obedience, while he would mercilessly punish the smallest attempt to evade his commands. He once issued a general order, with the penalty of death on disobedience,—that none but red sashes should be worn in his army. A captain of horse was no sooner informed of it, than, pulling off the handsome gold embroidered sash he wore, he trampled it under foot. As soon as Wallenstein was informed of the circumstance, he sent for the officer, and promoted

him to the rank of colonel on the spot. In all his apparent caprice he steadily kept in view his one ruling aim of power. It was Wallenstein who held the maxim, "Que la fortune favorise toujours les gros escadrons;" there is, however, a very great number of aspirants to the honour of this *dictum*, and some will have it to be a saying of Napoleon. It is a truth, whoever said it. The maraudings that were on one occasion carried on by his soldiers in a friendly country required in his judgment some marked example; and Wallenstein having encountered a straggler in the very act, commanded him to be seized, and, without awaiting any trial, in his usual voice of thunder, he exclaimed, "Hang that fellow." The culprit pleaded and proved his innocence; but Wallenstein had already passed sentence, and would allow no opposition to avail. "Let him be hanged even if he be innocent, and the guilty will have more reason to tremble." Preparations were already making to carry the sentence into execution, when the soldier, rendered desperate, broke from those who held him, and, with the resolution that he would not die without his revenge, fell furiously upon the Duke; but the man was fortunately disarmed before he could fulfil his design, when Wallenstein said, "Now let him go; my object is attained; the punishment he was about to undergo has done its work, and will excite sufficient terror." He was rather successful by the means of good fortune than great in the inventive art of war; and he was much better qualified to maintain discipline and subsist an army,—in both which talents he was admirable,—than to conduct it scientifically in the day of battle.

The whole German people unite in insisting, with national partiality, on the rectitude of character of this extraordinary man; but it must be admitted, that among all the public and well-attested actions of Wallenstein there is not one that could work out a clear acquittal before any twelve men of the world. He was from the earliest step of his career a man seeking

The crown of Bohemia at one time offered to him by Louis XIII.: misstatement of Schiller.

the aggrandizement of self by the sordid acquisition of wealth. To this he gave all his mind, reckless as to an enlightened and judicious management of it. He owed his Duchies of Friedland, Sagan, Glogau, and Mecklenburg to the cupidity, urgency, and importunity of his own solicitations for his unquestionable services to the State; but he was equally ready to have obtained the crown of Denmark out of an unsettled fidelity to his Imperial Master. It now, however, appears from the published Richelieu Memoirs, and the correspondence of the Marquis de Feuquieres, that a distinct offer of the crown of Bohemia was made him by Louis XIII. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is no paper extant, under the handwriting of Wallenstein, nor any authentic juridical act, that attests his guilt. There is only the consistent combination of cause and effect, and the undeviating unanimity of historians, Catholic and Protestant, that determines a verdict of "*Guilty*," but nothing to justify "*Death*." Schiller says, "Wallenstein fell, not because he was a rebel; but he became a rebel, because he fell." This is not the fairest way of putting it. He was, when he died, in the very act of levying war against his Sovereign, and of allying himself with the enemies of his church and nation, against the Emperor and the Catholic League; and it was only a barbarous and cruel murder that prevented him from dying a convicted rebel at the very period when he fell. A man whom almost all his contemporaries and associates united in condemning cannot but have been a worthless character. The great Oxenstierna has left a record concerning Wallenstein, that "he who betrays his own country will betray any other;" and Bernhard of Saxe Weimar answered an offer of coalition which was made him by stating that "no man can put faith in one who does not believe in God[2]."

[2] Mitchell's Life of Wallenstein; Harte, Schiller, Carte, Fryell, Menzell, Richelieu's Memoirs, Feuquieres' Correspondence, and Biographies, passim.


00023683

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016